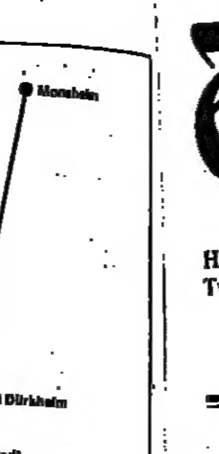
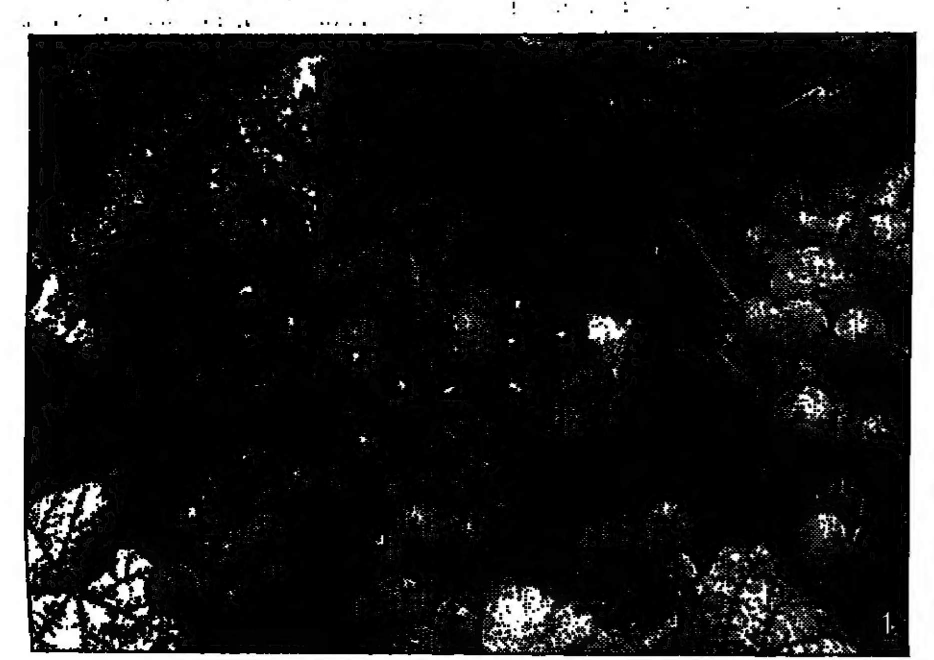
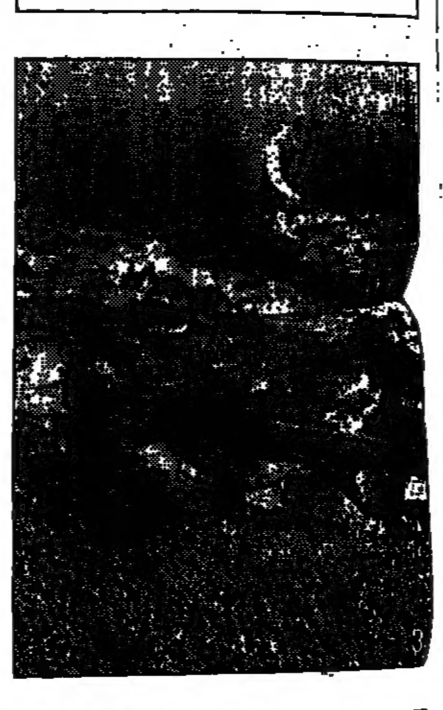
Routes to tour in Germany



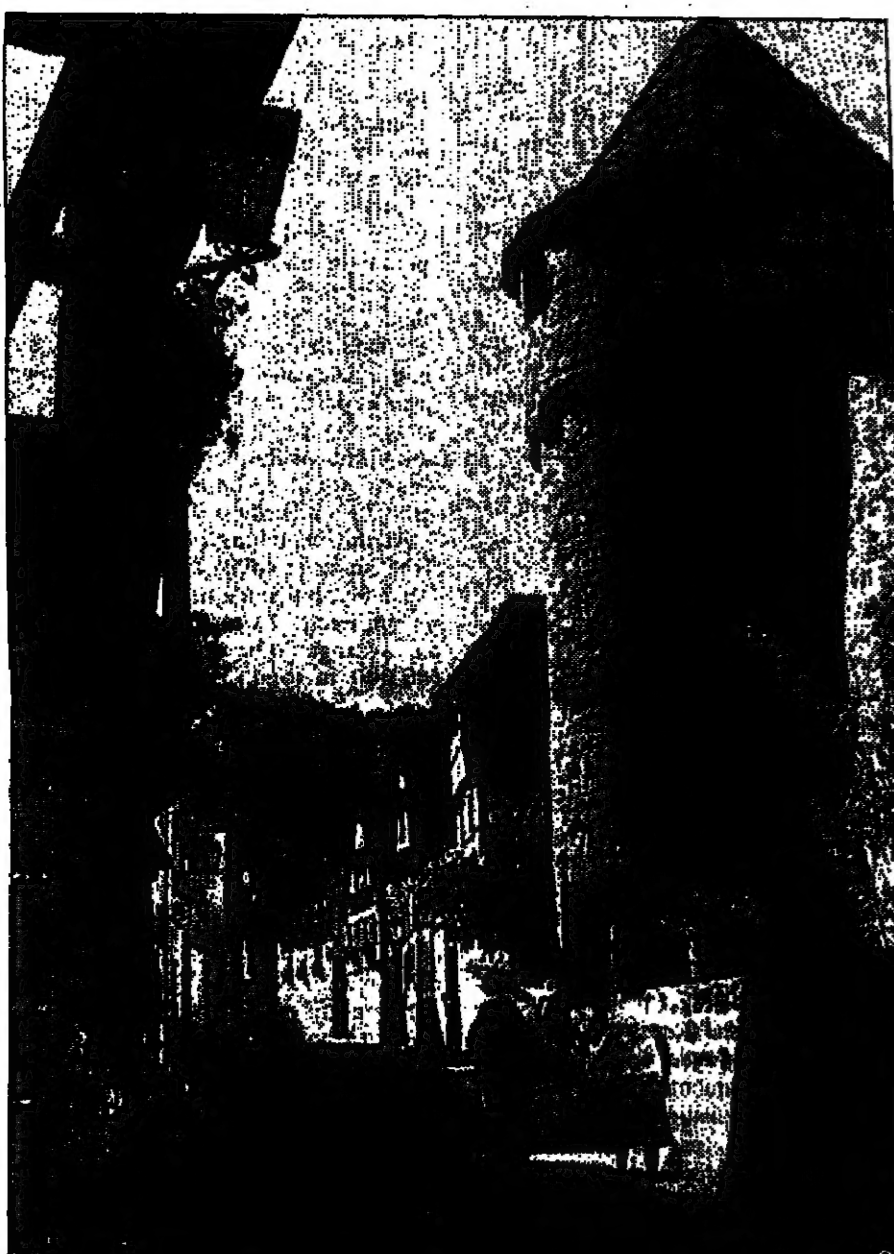
The German Wine Route



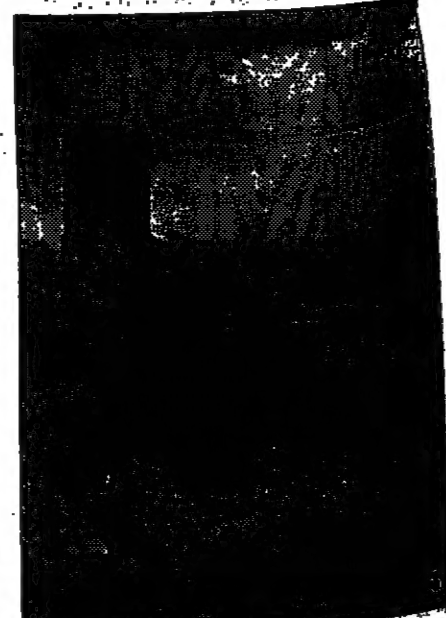


German roads will get you there — to the Palatinate woods, for instance, where 2,000 years ago Roman legionaries were already growing wine. Each vine yields up to three litres of various kinds of wine, such as Riesling, Sylvaner, Müller-Thurgau, Scheurebe or Gewürztraminer. Grapes are gathered in the autumn but the season never ends. Palatinate people are always ready to throw a party, and wine always holds pride of place, generating *Gemütlichkeit* and good cheer. As at the annual Bad Dürkheim Wurstmarkt, or sausage market, the Deidesheim goat auction and the election of the German Wine Queen in Neustadt. Stay the night in wine-growing villages, taste the wines and become a connoisseur.

Visit Germany and let the Wine Route be your guide.







1 Grapes on the vine
2 Dorrenbach
3 St Martin
4 Deidesheim
5 Wachenheim

The German Tribune

Hamburg, 10 August 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1238 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

The defence of Europe: need for a Pax Atlantica



President Roosevelt said in Yalta in 1945 that the Americans would be out of Europe in two years. Stalin *couldn't* wait to see them go, so they *stayed* — despite Washington's warning about entangling alliances.

After 40 years of containment Europeans are bound to ask themselves today whether the onus ought not to be mainly on them to look after their own security.

Three scenarios are at their disposal: an illusion, an imbalance and a task.

First the illusion: that America will continue to play the role in Europe it has played without demur for the past 40 years.

This presupposes that the United States will disregard the doubts that have befallen politicians of both parties. disregardsmedia and mass opinion and the malaise in transatlantic ties reflected in the Libya crisis.

Few Germans have realised that after the Mansfield resolution and the Nunn amendment budget constraints are now growing overwhelming and sure to have far-reaching political consequences for transatlantic ties.

The Gramm-Rudman move to brake US Federal budget spending may have fallen foul of the Supreme Court but alternative measures are sure to follow.

The high priority given to SDI and the low opinion in which European loyalty toward the United States is held may lead to the American presence in Europe declining dramatically without Soviet counter-concessions.

On 13 May Henry Kissinger wrote in the *Washington Post* that all US forces and systems needed for America's world role ought to be withdrawn from Europe because European cooperation could not be counted on in an emergency.

The sheer weight of any opinion voiced by such an experienced foreign policymaker as Dr Kissinger was arguably less important than the approving note sounded by the Pentagon and the State Department.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to President Carter, recently wrote in *Foreign Affairs* that the Europeans would do well to take their security into their own hands.

Second the imbalance, starting with the Europeanisation of Europe advocated by leading German Social Democratic thinkers and ending with the miracle of the Soviet Union forgetting Lenin's mission to make the world safe for Communism.

Between these two targets there are ominous intermediate moves such as scaling down the Bundeswehr and, logically, other Nato forces stationed in Germany to a "structural non-aggressive capability," possibly with counter-concessions by the East (and possibly not).

Then there is the draft treaty on chemical weapons drawn up by the SPD and the East German Communist Party (SED), which undermines Nato's negotiating position.

The Social Democrats and the SED are also to confer on Social Democratic policy objectives in connection with the updating of the 1959 Bad Godesberg manifesto.

A final imbalance factor is the ideological game played by the Communists, with their one-eyed post-war anti-Fascism and its effect on their view of history and the future.

How is the dynamism of these ideas to be brought to a halt once they have been unleashed in the heart of Europe? On balance they tend, as a former adviser of Helmut Schmidt's has warned, toward jumping the gun on capitulation.

This is the reason for the uncertainty neighbouring countries, especially France, feel about the Federal Republic of Germany.



(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Regardless of lip service paid to Europe, what is involved is the latest variation on the fateful German fascination with a separate path independent of and opposed to the West.

Third and last, the task must be to ensure that free Western Europe gains a political and strategic identity to go with its cultural and economic identity.

It has both European and Atlantic dimensions. To think solely in terms of Europe would be, intentionally or unintentionally, to play Mr Gorbachov's game; the Soviet leader would dearly like to rule the roost in his "European house."

Yet to think solely in transatlantic terms would be to fail in any attempt to piece Europe together.

A Europe that is resolved and has no alternative but to be the master of its own destiny has no choice but to bear in mind the British and French nuclear potential.

It must group a conventional force around the Anglo-French nuclear deterrent and devise an extended air defence capability as an accompaniment to SDI.

Yet the final guarantee must still derive from America's extended deterrence, which must stay firmly based in Europe in the form of US forces stationed close to the intra-German border.

The Pax Americana, inclusive of its nuclear guarantees, laid the groundwork for economic recovery in countries west of the intra-German border after 30 years of war and civil war in Europe.

What we now need is a Pax Atlantica, including an American share of responsibility in keeping with Kennedy's twin-pillar concept of which mention is so often made.

What is required of the Europeans is, as in the days of Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer, the temerity of realism.

The key concepts are logically and factually interlinked. They are:

- variable geometry of institutions;
- implementation of the Luxembourg resolutions on a wider European market and currency;
- technological headway, including space research policies associated with but independent of the United States;
- and, finally but first and foremost, the two pillars of Nato.

That would establish transatlantic ties on a basis of partnership and give Europe both a role and a responsibility in security and arms control.

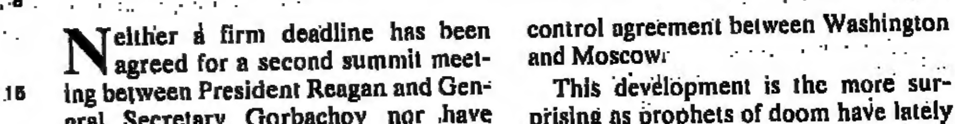
No-one has a greater interest in security and arms control and no-one has greater responsibility for them than the Germans in the free part of their country.

What is needed is an appreciation of the true situation, a definition of our interests and the courage of our convictions.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 July 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE



No end to deterrence in sight in spite of hopeful signs

Neither a firm deadline has been agreed for a second summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov nor have arms control talks between the superpowers seriously begun.

All that went on in the sandpits of the negotiating teams in Geneva, Vienna and Stockholm before the summer recess was the usual trench warfare.

Yet there seems to have been a breath of fresh spring air in the dialogue between the US President and the Soviet Party leader.

Since June the proposals, letters and statements by both sides have, for the first time in years of standstill, contained the outlines of a possible arms control agreement between Washington and Moscow.

This development is the more surprising as prophets of doom have lately forecast the end of disarmament bids and a new arms race.

Their imaginations were fired by President Reagan's announcement that the United States no longer felt bound by Salt 2, which it had never ratified and which had in any case expired.

He did, however, say America might reconsider this decision if the Soviet Union were to stop violating the agreement, which it was palpably doing.

This announcement could be regarded either as a severing of bonds or

Continued on page 3

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Cavalier French attitude on conservation starts to grate on German nerves



Many Germans are at a loss to account for the careless way in which Paris reacts to Franco-German environmental problems.

The latest conflict has arisen in connection with Cattenom nuclear power station, only a few miles from the German border.

Eberhard Meller of the Confederation of German Industry (BDI) in Cologne, where he is head of environmental affairs, says he is seen by French counterparts as a deep green ecologist.

It makes him feel distinctly odd, especially as he sees himself as a staunch custodian of German industrial interests.

Misunderstandings of this kind just show how widely French and German views differ on environmental matters.

Differences in economic potential and political outlook also contribute toward unequal readiness to protect the air, water and soil from harmful substances.

Both sides can take a dim view of each other as a result, and even the much-vaunted mainstay of Franco-German friendship was recently reviewed in a Bundesrat debate as a result.

Bonn Environment Minister Walter Wallmann is banking on friendly cooperation rather than confrontation and litigation in relations with France.

Political leaders in the Saar are less conciliatory. Saar Environment Minister Jo Leinen says the French are overtaxing Franco-German friendship with their Cattenom complex.

He prefers litigation to what Herr Wallmann terms cordial and confidential negotiations. "Politically," Herr Leinen says, "everything imaginable has been tried out in vain."

He has more in mind than the administrative court case. The Saar is to refuse permission for French nuclear power to be fed via the Saar into the European grid, the aim being to ensure that Cattenom is a commercial fiasco.

"If need be," Social Democrat Leinen says, "we will dismantle the pylons."

Christian Democrat Klaus Töpfer, Environment Minister in the neighbouring Rhineland-Palatinate, fears the domestic atomic energy dispute could impose a burden on foreign policy as a result.

Lutz Stavenhagen, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, where he is responsible for European affairs, feels the only effect the Saar's court case has had is that the French have shelved all negotiations until the case has been heard.

Cattenom is certainly the latest and most irksome link in a chain of Franco-German environmental upsets.

Peugeot chief executive Jacques Calvet dismissed German environmental efforts in connection with vehicle emission and catalytic converters as the handiwork of a "hysterical gang."

The French government obediently played for time on the issue in the European Community.

The Saar is the dirtiest river in Europe from where it is joined by the Rossel, a river used by a French chemical works in Carling as an open drain for waste that conveniently flows downstream into neighbouring Germany.

President Mitterrand is tightlipped and shows no signs of appreciating German nuclear fears in the wake of Chernobyl.

"If everyone had taken as many security precautions as France in respect of Cattenom," he told Chancellor Kohl, "the Soviet catastrophe need never have occurred."

This reaction is unlikely to have come as a surprise to the Chancellor even though *Chernobyl by no means went* unnoticed in France.

But French politicians of all hues, industrialists and trade unionists, nuclear experts and an overwhelming majority of public opinion are firmly convinced that a Chernobyl-style accident simply couldn't happen in a French power reactor.

French self-assurance almost inevitably results from economic compulsion and the aim of ensuring greater independence from oil imports.

Over 40 nuclear power stations meet two thirds of French demand for industrial and domestic electric power. France's current account deficit is so heavy it simply couldn't afford to import coal, oil and natural gas instead.

So atomic energy is a much more crucial mainstay of the present standard of living in France than it is in, say, Germany.

Cattenom would also establish a precedent. If the four reactor blocks on the Moselle had to be equipped with additional safety features extra safety precautions must logically be installed at other reactors.

Otherwise the French government would tacitly admit that it attached greater importance to German worries over the safety of nuclear installations than to French views on the subject.

French opinion tends in any case to attach priority to job security rather than to environmental protection. No leading French political party or group gives pride of place to ecological considerations.

The CGT, France's Communist trade union confederation, is the keenest advocate of atomic energy, arguing that even higher unemployment is the alternative.

German observers repeatedly attribute the limited importance attached to environmental protection in France to the poor performance of French industry.

Procrastination, delaying tactics and playing for time are the best way to describe French environmental protection policy in many instances.

For seven years the French National Assembly hesitated before finally, in 1983, ratifying the international agreement on protecting the quality of water in the Rhine.

By the terms of the agreement France will from next year pump six million tonnes of salt a year into the Rhine instead of the present seven million tonnes — in return for other parties to the agreement recompensing France for the extra expense.

Alsatian potash mines still pump so much salt solution into the Rhine that the dry salt would fill 22 freight trains made up of 50 20-tonne waggons each.

Government officials in Bonn are worried there may be no change despite ratification. At the beginning of June French Premier Jacques Chirac announced that plans to pump the salt deep underground had proved impracticable.

A group of experts would be trying by *October to come up with feasible alt*ernative methods of disposal. They may come up with mere excuses. The 1976 agreement is so vague that loopholes are easily found.

The French have also undertaken to install from January 1987 a facility that will reduce the output of waste salt.

The German Foreign Office is now worried that France will stick to the letter of the agreement and merely start to set up this facility from next January. Construction will then take years to complete.

The French are arguing that Alsatian potash deposits will be exhausted by the end of the century.

Yet the Federal Republic has already paid France DM19m toward the cost of preparing test drilling for the original plan to pump the waste underground.

Switzerland is so annoyed by French procrastination that it has demanded a refund of its payments to Paris in this connection.

German politicians are now hoping environmental awareness will increase in France. The French position has already changed, Herr Stavenhagen says.

As he puts it the change has been from a courteous smile marking total failure to appreciate the seriousness of tree deaths to a greater understanding of the problem.

The French initially borrowed the word *Waldsterben*, or dying forest, from the German as an exotic and somewhat unrealistic concept.

But France is now growing more alarmed about trees dying in the Vosges, the Jura and the Massif Central where up to one tree in four is sick and possibly dying.

While German environmentalists hope wind from France will gather in their own sails, German officials entrusted with negotiations are finding matters even more difficult.

It was French environmentalists in Alsace who forestalled the pumping of salt waste underground because of fears that ground water might be contaminated.

This local resistance in Alsace outweighed French readiness to abide by treaty commitments. This attitude is, if anything, enhanced by the centralised pattern of decision-making, which leads to a political-industrial nexus.

Atomic energy policy is a case in point, demonstrating how modern technologies are thought up, put into practice and managed from above.

Leading French executives in major sectors are all the product of particular schools and have uniform views and outlooks on life.

Technocrats are interchangeable at many levels at Ministry, at the state-owned Electricité de France, at the atomic energy commissariat and in other nationalised industries.

"In France there is a tacit agreement between industry, the state and technology that prevents debate of any kind," says atomic energy expert Michel Bosquet.

Were it not for this interplay, he argues, the French atomic energy programme could not possibly have been carried out at such speed [illegible]

This centralism is encountered among French diplomats too. French negotiators repeatedly amaze their German counterparts with swift and [illegible] bargaining.

"They swap exchange rates for helicopters and trade industrial policy measures against Third World policies."

Continued on page 6

Austrians upset at rebuff over Bavarian nuclear plant

Austria is worried about the safety of atomic energy installations in Germany, especially the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf, Bavaria. The issue has been raised at a meeting of the Austrian and German Foreign Ministers. There has been wide agreement that Bavaria's Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, has not exactly helped smooth things over.

Franz Josef Strauss, who was hailed only a few months ago in Vienna as a longstanding and welcome visitor to the highlight of the social season, the Opernball, is now seen in neighbouring Austria as the Ugly German.

He is criticised for dismissing out of hand Austrian worries about the safety of the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing facility in Wackersdorf, Bavaria.

He has written a seven-page letter on the subject to Austrian President Kurt Waldheim saying, in a nutshell, that Austrian demands are outrageous.

Austria has no legal recourse by which to oppose construction work on the Wackersdorf site, but Vienna still hopes the German authorities will, after Chernobyl, show greater understanding for Austrian safety worries.

Chancellor Kohl, holidaying in Austria as ever, is bound to be questioned by Austrian newsmen about Wackersdorf.

He has recently said he is in favour of going ahead with the project but will, it is hoped, show greater understanding for Austrian feelings than Herr Strauss.

Wackersdorf may well upset relations between the two countries even more if Austrians take part in protest rallies in Bavaria. There are no signs yet of a solution satisfactory to both sides.

On the eve of the annual Mozart festival anti-Wackersdorf rallies were held in Salzburg. Herr Strauss was not expected to attend the festival's opening ceremony this year. Neither were members of the Bavarian Cabinet.

But Foreign Ministers Genscher and Jankowitsch conferred in Salzburg and agreed to let emotions cool down on the issue.

Raymund Hörhager

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 July 1986)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln.

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 640 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

All eyes on events in the crucial middle ground

Frankfurter Rundschau

Bitter experience with extremism at both ends of the scale has confirmed the average West German voter in his belief that there must be a consensus. And if a consensus is ruled out, then a compromise must be reached.

Compromises are still felt to be somehow bad, but that does not contradict the tendency toward the middle of the road.

Beating a path to the overpopulated middle ground is a pragmatic decision voters arrive at individually in the polling booth.

In contrast, hostility toward compromise, is part of the specifically *German* tendency toward inflexibility *of political* and moral concepts.

One of the leading German political parties is firmly convinced it *is the* political centre — even though it has swung one way and the other in coalition commitments.

The Free Democrats, or Liberals, have laid claim to the middle of the road for so long as a matter of course that they seem inured to accusations of being unprincipled and turncoats.

Ensuring they retained a share in power has always been seen as an act of political common sense — and not just since the FDP last switched allegiance in September 1982.

True, other parties are anything but squeamish where gaining power (or holding on to it) is concerned.

Atmospheric changes among the Liberals have always had several causes, including both the overall political climate and personal ambition.

Yet while the major parties are slow to change, the smaller FDP has always been good for a swift about-turn.

At present movement on the political scene is ensured both by the blockbuster of an argument between FDP father-figure Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss and by the steady comeback to national politics staged by former Economic Affairs Minister Otto Lambsdorff.

Count Lambsdorff's comeback is arguably the greater force for change. Ever since the Bonn district court virtually absolved him of the accusation of venality he has untiringly staked his claim to office, including a Cabinet portfolio.

He seems unperturbed by the tax evasion proceedings that are still in progress in connection with the former Flick group and its party-political donations.

He knows that he and other fundraisers for the major parties all fell slightly foul of the law. All are convinced their offences, if such they were, were venial ones.

Count Lambsdorff is felt by friend and foe alike to fancy his chances for any major portfolio, not to mention the post of Party leader.

He seems slightly disconcerted by rumblings within the FDP at present. Why else should he have seen fit to issue a public denial of "talk" of the Free Democrats *switching coalition* allegiance at Federal and *Land* government level?

It is realistic to assume that the FDP has no plans to switch sides again in Bonn, but that cannot be said of the *Länder*.

Hamburg is not the only *Land* where Free Democrats are thinking in terms of new directions. But unlike Herr Genscher and FDP leader Martin Bangemann, whom Count Lambsdorff is not alone in feeling to be showing too little profile, he is keen to clarify matters.

That is easier said than done these days, and not just in the FDP. Voters in the Federal Republic, among other countries, have only just grown accustomed to the idea of two groups almost equal in size being at daggers drawn and incapable of compromise on nearly all major issues.

They are now coming to realise that dividing lines are substantial between left- and right-wing parties, as are rifts within parties and blocs.

Views differ on issues ranging from environmental protection to dealings with the Soviet Union, from atomic energy to European integration and from legal affairs to agriculture.

For the Free Democrats there is nothing new in this state of affairs.

Dual strategy

They switched allegiance from the Social Democrats to the Christian Democrats in 1982 with every intention of retaining SPD-FDP positions on foreign and legal affairs and internal security.

In economic and social affairs they proposed, in contrast, to join forces with the CDU/CSU.

The result of this FDP dual strategy has since kept German domestic affairs increasingly on the move.

Herr Genscher seems even more convinced than Count Lambsdorff that there are rifts and clashes within the CDU and SPD as well as the FDP.

A shrewd tactician and strategist, Herr Genscher is not the man to be intimidated by Franz Josef Strauss. The deeper the divide, he feels, the more voters will flock to the middle of the road.

Werner Holzer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 August 1986)

Strauss calls for Genscher to be replaced

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The longstanding clash between CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss and Free Democrat Hans-Dietrich Genscher has come to a head now the Bavarian Premier has openly called for Herr Genscher's replacement as Foreign Minister.

Herr Strauss says the Foreign Minister has embarked on "pseudo-diplomatic" moves of his own to depart from Bonn coalition policy guidelines.

The CSU leader did not stake a direct claim to the Foreign Office but couched his criticism in terms that made it clear he feels the CSU has every right to claim the portfolio.

Chancellor Kohl, he said in a TV interview, could hardly be happy with his Foreign Minister referring to continuity of Helmut Schmidt's foreign policy under the aegis of Helmut Kohl.

That was surely a good reason for a change at the top in the Bonn Foreign Office. The Bavarian Premier has been strongly critical of Herr Genscher's foreign policy throughout the lifetime of the present Bundestag, particularly his policy toward South Africa and the United States.

He is said to have spoken out in response to a remark made by Herr Genscher in an interview with the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

Herr Genscher said that his desire to remain at the helm of the Foreign Office was no less strong than Herr Kohl's intention of remaining Chancellor.

Herr Kohl had stated on several occasions, Herr Strauss said, that portfolios would not be discussed until after the elections.

"But if the question comes up for discussion I shall certainly state my views."

Free Democrat Jürgen Möllemann, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, was one of the first to react to Herr Strauss's interview.

He said Strauss should be more modest. He was a politician who had failed to take his CSU up north out of Bavaria; and he had taken a severe beating in a general election when he was Shadow Chancellor.

It was helpful to see that Herr Strauss had made it clear that one general election issue would be a predictable, common-sense foreign policy and a choice between Strauss and Genscher.

The CSU leader also accused Herr Genscher of serious factual errors. He had concocted a bogus news item in claiming that Bavaria had planned to refuse Austrian Vice-Chancellor Norbert Steger permission to enter the country to take part in an anti-nuclear rally in Wackersdorf.

Herr Genscher ought sooner to have requested Herr Steger not to take part in the rally. The Foreign Office had not said how Herr Steger was to have been treated if he had tried to attend the rally.

The Bonn Interior Ministry had said it had no idea what the precise legal position was but was sure Herr Steger must be given the same treatment as any other visitor.

That said Herr Strauss, had been that.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 August 1986)

Continued from page 1

as a calculated risk aimed at persuading Moscow to be more compliant.

The Kremlin would naturally deny, and strongly deny, any allegation that it had succumbed to a threat. Yet the Soviet Union has lately shown signs, at least in its negotiating proposals, of being readier to compromise.

One reason why President Reagan is so popular in the United States is that he has restored America's strength. This is clearly one reason why the Soviet Union has abandoned one untenable position after another.

In January 198[illegible] Geneva talks without insisting on its prior conditions, the withdrawal of medium-range US missiles from Europe and the shelving of SDI plans by the United States.

It went on to modify other demands. Missile counts were, for instance, to be based mainly on warheads, and not on numbers of carrier systems.

American forward-based systems in Europe, aircraft and short- and medium-range missiles, are no longer defined as strategic weapons.

The British and French nuclear weapons potential is no longer to count toward the strategic balance either.

But the crucial point is that Moscow no longer insists on Washington dispensing with SDI; America is merely expected to give an assurance that it will abide by the ABM Treaty for a while.

In return Moscow has even offered to consider a mutual reduction in offensive weapons.

Mr Gorbachov here has a special aim in mind. If Washington agrees to be bound by the ABM Treaty for a longer period than its present six months' notice, SDI development work will need to be limited.

If Congress feels encouraged to limit SDI funds, pressure may one day grow to lengthen the ABM Treaty deadline. In this way the SDI programme might even be forestalled.

That could even be the case if America were only to give this undertaking for the seven years until SDI research has been completed, as proposed by President Reagan. So Soviet readiness to compromise cannot be entirely ruled out on this point.

President Reagan has nonetheless welcome the Soviet offer, showing only that the US administration takes a more realistic view of the SDI programme.

Visions of strategic defence in outer space protecting America like a gigantic dome and rendering it invulnerable have vanished.

All that now seems possible is a system protecting missile and command centres, thereby ensuring the survival of America's second-strike capability.

The Soviet Union might try to outgun this system by increasing the number of its offensive weapons. No-one will deny that Moscow is well able to outperform Washington in this respect.

So limited defensive weapon systems will only make sense if they can be coupled with a limitation in numbers of offensive weapons.

What, for the time being, are limits to technology have made SDI a bargaining chip after all, although President Reagan still refuses to acknowledge the fact.

In this respect his interests tally with Mr Gorbachov's, although the Soviet leader has even less to say on the subject.

A reduction in offensive weapons is no guarantee, in itself against a first strike. The Russians too are working on defensive systems, mainly ground-based due to the greater shortcomings of Soviet technology.

Now President Reagan too is back down to earth the two leaders have this in common and a comprehensive arms control agreement seems possible for the first time in ages.

In the long term it might even include a modification of the ABM Treaty. Both sides certainly seem prepared to consider an agreed number of anti-ballistic systems to maintain their retaliation capacity.

So we will continue to have to live with the deterrent for some time to come.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 July 1986)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Bid to sharpen city government: civil servants get dose of private enterprise

Civil servants and staff from private companies are swapping jobs for six-month spells under a scheme to improve local government in Hamburg.

It is the idea of a member of the Hamburg Senate (cabinet), Alfons Pawelczyk, who is a professional soldier.

It has already provided staff from both sides with unexpected insights.

A senior local government officer at Hamburg's administration department learnt to his surprise that staff in large private-enterprise firms were keener to reach decisions when customers' requirements had to be met at short notice.

An engineer from the company he was seconded to now realises that local government pay scales make no provision for merit, with the result that motivation and performance are not seen as particularly important, especially among junior grades.

The civil servant was seconded to Deutsche Philips in June 1985; the engineer, who is head of scientific and industrial electronics at Philips in Kassel, has worked at the Hamburg civil engineering department and the largely state-owned Hamburgische Elektrizitätswerke (HEW) since November 1985.

Pawelczyk is in charge of organisation, personnel and Hamburg's representation in Bonn.

The exchange scheme is still in its infancy. Three Hamburg civil servants have so far been seconded to Philips, where they were particularly interested in controlling, budgeting and organisation, while two Philips employees have gained first-hand knowledge of the civil service.

The chamber of commerce has been requested to make enquiries with a view to finding other companies interested in taking part in the exchange scheme. The first newcomers are already under consideration.

Hamburg would like to see all aspirants to senior grades in the civil service spend six months in private enterprise.

Much to improve

It is no secret that collaboration between local government and private enterprise is not good.

"Private enterprise and public administration coexist inefficiently," a Hamburg banker says. "So an exchange scheme can only be welcomed.

"It will enable decision-makers in the civil service to learn more about management methods in free enterprise."

Pawelczyk feels industrial executives could do worse than see how public administration is run.

They will come to appreciate that administrative decisions cannot be geared solely to speed and cost-efficiency.

In major respects the civil service must first make sure that decisions are in keeping with stated policy and enjoy political approval.

As a matter of principle senior civil service grades in Hamburg are only to be open to applicants with sufficient flexibility. "Mobility is a key prerequisite for promotion," Pawelczyk says.



Before promotion above a certain level successful applicants will be expected to have worked in at least two different categories of work.

Similar yardsticks are under consideration for very senior grades, in which staff are not to serve in any one capacity for longer than eight years.

The job must stay but the man must move on, Hamburg's policymakers have decided.

Traineeship schemes are to be extended to include Hamburg's representative offices in Bonn and at the European Community in Brussels, where Hamburg and other *Länder*, much to the Foreign Ministry's chagrin, have set up liaison offices to look after their regional interests.

Alternative civil service appointments are being sought for teachers, partly with a view to mobility and partly because of the need to economise.

(Teachers with civil servant status cannot be dismissed even if their schools are closed down for lack of pupils.)

Hamburg feels it has too many teachers on its payroll in relation to the declining numbers of children at school, so teachers who are no longer needed are to be offered alternative work (if they want it).

A clearing house has been set up for them and others who are interested in switching to another department. The saving is self-evident. Existing staff can be *transferred* to newly-created jobs and new staff don't need to be hired.

Teachers were notified of the opportunity last December and 281 have applied to the clearing house for consideration. This August 45 are to be transferred to other local government departments.

Some of the 23 women and 22 men are to work for the arts department (in museums and civic arts activities). Others are to work as teachers in prison. Others are to work for the protocol department at the Rathaus, where visitor services are to be improved.

This option has not met with undivided approval. Teachers' unions point out that teaching jobs are quietly axed while lessons aren't held in some subjects at many schools because staff aren't available.

Numbers of children per class are still high and tens of thousands of qualified teachers are out of work and stand no chance of ever working in their profession.

There could be even more of a rumpus at Hamburg's universities, which are due for a shake-down in the years ahead because student intake is declining too.

Universities are being advised that the new University of Technology in Harburg is doing excellent work by seeking to cooperate closely with all facilities in its area.

Fears have been voiced that the authorities might now try to resort to even more drastic strong-arm tactics to force universities to adjust to economic exigencies.

"What courses of study will be more or less in the public interest in future will depend on how we want to live in future and is, to this extent, a subject for political decision-making," says Scientific Affairs Senator Klaus Michael Meyer-Abich.

Trouble is likely to come to a head when changes in the civil service and public administration are no longer envisaged on a voluntary basis.

Initial moves have shown that the courts will require the state to *proceed* with caution. Yet Herr Pawelczyk is convinced that fundamental changes are indispensable.

"It would be disgraceful if changes were to be blocked by the courts," he says. "That would be irresponsible to taxpayers and something no-one in private enterprise could possibly afford."

Karsten Plog

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1986)

Eggheads under the yolk at Eggenberg

Haus Eggenberg, a *Jugendstil* villa in Ebenhausen, near Munich, is an appropriate name for the little-known brains trust where 111 eggheads sit and brood for the Federal government and the Bundestag.

In the seclusion of the Isar valley villa and grounds their job is to review international trends and assess security policy requirements so Bonn is prepared for any sudden crisis.

This year the Chancellor's Office has budgeted for DM14.8m toward the cost of running this unique facility.

It originated 25 years ago when politicians and academic experts met to consider how expert findings could be best put to practical political use. In 1962 the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (Science and Politics Foundation) was set up.

In 1965 the Bonn Bundestag decided to set up the Research Institute for International Politics and Security in Ebenhausen, since when the Haus Eggenberg eggheads have plugged a gap.

Planning staff at the Chancellor's Office and other government departments are guided by political guidelines. University research in contrast need have no practical relevance whatever.

The *Bundesnachrichtendienst*, Germany's Munich-based counterpart to the CIA or MI5, merely analyses the current situation. Ebenhausen in contrast is expected to set aside taboos and think ahead.

Few people have ever heard of it. If it ever hits the headlines, then only in specialist journals where headline-hitting is a misleading concept.

The Ebenhausen eggheads like being virtually unknown. The last thing they want is to become involved in day-to-day, let alone party politics. As it is, they are accepted by all parties as impartial.

The Chancellor's Office may pay the piper but a board of governors calls the tune. Members of this body, which decides on research priorities, include Wolfgang Schäuble, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, and Chancellor Kohl's foreign policy adviser Horst Teltschik.

Other members include Social Democrats Karsten Voigt, an SPD foreign affairs specialist, and Georg Leber, a former Defence Minister, Bosch supervisory board chairman Hans Merkle and scientist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker.

"A change of government in Bonn makes no difference at all to us," says Ebenhausen's Albrecht Zunker. The eggheads review political issues without taking part in political disputes.

That is why one report accused the Social Democrats of having fallen for an East Bloc trick while in office, while Chancellor Kohl's government cannot be happy about a recommendation to the US government to concentrate more on cooperation and less on confrontation in Central America.

The eggheads consist of poilitical scientists, historians, economists, philosophers, physicists, international lawyers and military specialists and are headed by Klaus Ritter, a law professor.

Their brief encompasses the entire range of international affairs and security policy.

One report deals with a basic pattern found to be followed by the Soviet Union in crises. Another looked into the conflicts of interest between Europe and the United States in the Middle East.

A further issue is whether there is such a thing as an independent road midway between communism and capitalism for the Third World. What, for that matter, will Turkey's future importance be for Europe?

Now a number of African countries are abandoning communist models it would be disastrous for Western values to fall into disrepute in Africa merely because South Africa claimed its racial policies stood for them.

The West must set itself more clearly apart from South Africa, the Ebenhausen eggheads say. Another study advises against boosting German arms exports to the Third World.

Security policy research is being stepped up. "The missile modernisation debate," Zunker says, "showed there to be a considerable shortfall in this sector."

Might an increase in conventional armament raise the nuclear threshold? What direction are trends in military technology moving in? These and similar issues are under review.

About 60 reports a year are published. Many are promptly classified and locked away in Bonn strong-rooms.

No-one abroad needs to know what policy aspects the Bonn government is reviewing. Pressure might then be brought to bear on policy review decision-makers.

Face-to-face talks between politicians and eggheads can be of enormous importance. What politicians particularly value is that their bright ideas are then not immediately attributed to an Ebenhausen egghead.

"We simply supply ideas and aids to decision-making," Herr Zunker says. "What the politicians do with them is their business."

Horst Zimmermann

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 1 July 1986)

■ TERRORISM

Lives of innocent more expendable as range of potential targets grows

Terrorist bomb raids, especially by the Red Army Faction (RAF), are on the increase. Many more take place than hit the headlines.

Only the more spectacular attacks, such as the murder of Siemens executive Karl Heinz Beckurts and his chauffeur, are given news coverage.

The latest bomb raids have been at the Fraunhofer Institute of Laser Technology in Aachen and the Dornier works in Immenstaad on Lake Constance.

This series of raids is likely to continue. Security authorities say the various terrorist groups have set their sights on a number of targets.

Over the past few months, not to say years, a wide range of firms and installations have been found to be under observation.

Targets have been checked in Essen, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, Erlangen and many other places.

In addition to the raids already mentioned a case of arson occurred near Frankfurt a few weeks ago in which the research laboratory of a high-tech firm was burnt to the ground.

Letters written by groups claiming responsibility for raids regularly list categories that ought to make certain companies keenly conscious of the risk they run of being the next to be bombed.

They include the "arms trade," "SDI,"

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"high tech," "atomic energy," "computer technology," "genetic engineering" and, occasionally, "animal experiments."

These categories, variously arranged in different contexts, basically amount to a programme.

They are the target group of companies particularly threatened by professional terrorists, including the RAF and other groups, such as the Revolutionary Cells and Red Zora, that are fast catching up with the RAF in "quality."

Raids are growing more dangerous as terrorists grow increasingly prepared to risk the lives of innocent bystanders.

Amazingly detailed knowledge of the locality and details of security precautions gleaned by careful observation often lead to substantial damage, heightening the "efficiency" of a raid.

For the RAF the term "SDI" is clearly like showing a red rag to a bull. It is a concept that holds pride of place in pursuit of RAF strategy.

RAF terrorists see themselves as at war with "imperialism and Nato" and behave in a manner absolutely logical and consistent with this point of view.

Other terrorist groups are increasingly guided by the RAF's targets, possibly because they feel the effect on public opinion will be greater if efforts are concentrated on the same targets.

This may well be true in comparison with the fairly unsystematic raid tactics adopted in the past.

So firms engaged in research and manufacture in aerospace, electronics, biochemistry and genetic engineering have every reason to be worried.

They need to undertake a systematic appraisal of their weak spots to find out where they are particularly vulnerable and where damage can be prevented by the simplest possible means and with immediate or short-term effect.

They will certainly need to think in terms of a change in outlook. Talks with company executives and heads of research department constantly reveal that dangers are dismissed.

They seem to rely on the law of averages which, of course, makes it seem fairly unlikely that they themselves will ever be terrorist targets.

This may be true of very small firms and research facilities, but a specialised company with a payroll of 50, 100 or 200 that has made a name for itself in its sector is in danger nowadays.

To have made a name for itself need not necessarily mean the firm is widely known. Terrorists well know where they can gain access to source material listing the names of important firms.

They know which are the important *congresses and who takes part in them*, the industrial associations and their members and even the lists of suppliers.

Terrorists are well able to put two and two together and work out which company and which research facility are likely to be of particular interest to them.

Appraisal of weak spots by companies must bear this terrorist approach in mind. It must also review considerations of, let us say, location.

That isn't to say a laboratory must be relocated or individual buildings ought to be evacuated.

Companies must consider which sectors of their activity are particularly vulnerable and how this vulnerability might be reduced by internal rearrangements.

Care needed

External security and guard patrols must also be considered, but care should be taken not to plunge headlong into ill-considered individual security measures.

Any move that isn't based on a thorough analysis of weak spots can fast turn out to have been a serious mistake in terms of both cost and efficiency.

Security moves must be undertaken systematically, and bulletproof glass windows aren't always the most sensible idea.

In some cases organisational measures may prove more effective than physical ones.

A well-considered security concept flexibly managed and relying on well-equipped staff and well-trained guard dogs can bring about a swift improvement in security, especially when short-term improvements are required.

Rainer von zur Mühlen

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 28 July 1986)

Businessmen warned to avoid routine

Businessmen who are possible targets for terrorist attacks have been advised to make their lifestyles more unpredictable.

Avoid routine is the message since the murder of Siemens executive Karl Heinz Beckurts and his chauffeur last month.

Hans-Joachim Lange of the Bavarian Industrial Security Association says potential victims become security conscious after attacks but the worry soon subsides — until the next attack.

Security firms have long known that people at risk don't like bodyguards; they intrude too much into private life.

"Even the highest ranks dislike bodyguards," Herr Lange says. This makes it difficult for security people.

Gone are the days when bodyguards were a status symbol enjoyed by a handful of film stars, so personal protection is not easily sold to the client.

Security firms must first painstakingly impress on potential clients that the bodyguard, an officially recognised job since 1984, is not a broad-shouldered tough with cauliflower ears.

Only then do most potential clients begin to show any sign of serious interest.

Tough guys are not in demand. Men with brain as well as brawn are required, trained of course in self-defence and averting danger.

What security firms try to teach their clients, who range from executives to chauffeurs and works security patrolmen, is not for public consumption.

But it basically amounts to Munich police chief Gustav Häring's advice not to make life too easy for potential attackers.

Herr Lange says it is difficult to believe, but businessmen who know they are on the RAF's hit list still drive to work every morning along the same route and take lunch at the same time in the same restaurant every day.

Security firms have been looking at international terrorism for years and have noted, for instance, that Spanish terrorist victims tend to have been particularly careless.

They have used cars without safety precautions of any kind and, in the case of two murdered officers, always ate in the same restaurant at the same time.

The modus operandi used in the Basque country could easily be repeated in the Federal Republic. In Professor Beckurts' case it surely was.

Yet Herr Lange does not advise sparing no expense in taking security precautions to protect individual executives.

"Every security move is a kind of marshalling yard for criminal activity," he says. By this he means that if one potential victim is well guarded attention may be diverted to someone less well-known but an easier target.

So it is usually better to improve works safety precautions in general and to improve staff training.

Bulletproof cars are not the be-all and end-all of security either, Herr Lange says. "They are wildly expensive and not always available, so bulletproof cars are out of the question for other than chief executives."

Industrial executives and politicians must learn not to arrange their appointments in too great detail. A little disorder in executive life-styles is well-advised.

Holger Sattler

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 15 July 1986)

■ WORLD BANK REPORT ON THIRD WORLD

Future is in the fields, not on the assembly line

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

There is widespread agreement today that encouraging Third World countries to industrialise has been a mistake.

The feeling is that if the land were able to feed those who live on it, there would not be such an exodus of people to the cities.

The World Bank deals with this issue in its latest World Development Report in which it says that if a government fixes low cereal prices, it might provide cheap food but it also causes a drop in production.

The report says:

- The future of the Third World does not lie on the assembly line but out in the fields.
- Agriculture is the basis of the economy in the world's poorest countries.
- In many developing countries, a healthy agricultural sector is essential for both long-term development and short-term stability.

On the day after the report was publicly presented in Bonn journalists and experts gathered near Bonn at a seminar organised by the Welthungerhilfe famine relief organisation.

Most of the voluntary overseas workers at the seminar would probably agree with everything in the report.

Most of their activities set out to improve the lot of the rural population.

Even those who work in the urban slums know that the cities are bursting at the seams because of the crushing rural poverty.

If the land were able to feed the people living on it there would not be such an exodus to the cities.

Today there is widespread agreement that it was a mistake to insist on industrialisation in the Third World.

New strategies are needed to help the poorest developing countries. Opinions differ, however, on how.

The World Bank takes a liberal stance. Even the fact that it now receives more interest rate payments from many developing countries than the money it gives them cannot shake its belief in market forces.

It emphasises economic growth and developing countries' own efforts.

The analysis of the "take-off" situation for these countries, on the other hand, sounds rather more pessimistic.

Although there has been a growth trend for four years now the world economy is slow to recover.

Despite positive stimuli, such as the drop in oil prices, real interest rate levels and worldwide inflation, many highly-indebted developing countries will find it difficult in the near future to sustain economic growth.

World Development Report feels that a liberalisation of markets and the elimination of price distortions would provide the answer.

The fact that many countries neglect their farmers in favour of industry and urban areas is a particular obstacle to an improvement of the situation.

If a government fixes low cereals prices it may provide cheap food, but it also causes a drop in cereals production.

The World Bank emphasises that price signals are also heeded in developing countries.

The World Bank is just as critical of the agricultural policies pursued by industrialised countries.

The surplus production of the European Community and the United States have led to serious disruptions on international markets.

The developing countries themselves are often those who suffer most from such policies.

The World Bank calls upon industrialised countries to change their agricultural policies in the interests of the world food supply situation.

Admittedly, all the World Bank can do is appeal to its sponsors.

Whereas in the case of developing countries the World Bank can exert greater influence via the credit-lending screw, it relies on goodwill in the case of industrialised countries.

Unfortunately, there doesn't seem too much of that around.

Agriculture appears to be the sacred cow of the western world.

Only the best fodder, e.g. the European Community's budget, is good enough, it seems, to ensure its well-being.

The latest trade war skirmishes between the European Community and the United States show how bitter the fight is for every blade of grass on the pastures of subsidisation.

This policy becomes simply grotesque when, *in the name of development policy,* cereals are exported to African countries where there is no lack of it.

This may empty silos in the European Community, but it leads to a drop in cereals prices in recipient countries, thus jeopardising the livelihood of farmers there.

So far appeals to the Community by private relief organisations to stop these direct exports have been to no avail.

Many of the politicians who are never weary of criticising the policy errors of developing countries are astonishingly insensitive when it comes to faults in their own countries.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary party is no exception.

It outlines its ideas on new development policy strategies in its *Argumente* series.

In the foreword the parliamentary party's development policy spokesman, Winfrid Pinger, explains:

"Underdevelopment and unsuccessful development are to a large degree caused by the ruling elites in developing countries... The following publication by the CDU/CSU parliamentary group focuses on this aspect."

The riches of the poor

Developing countries' share of world exports, product for product, in %

Nickel 35
Sugar 45
57
Tobacco 63
Copper 72
Bauxite 75
Manganese 85
Tin 97
Bananas
Cocoa Tea Rubber 100%
Coffee 95
Jute 83
Citrus fruit 73
Oil seed 64
Rice 58
Iron ore 46
Cotton 43
Lead 30
Zinc 24

8062 © Globus

Although Pinger makes a brief reference to the fact that the sharp drop in raw materials prices and the protectionism of industrialised countries are also responsible for the crisis in many developing countries, he is mainly interested in the mistakes made by others.

During the discussion organised by Welthungerhilfe, however, Pinger met with very little approval for his views.

Most other speakers stressed that the crisis facing Third World countries can only be overcome via adjustment measures à la World Bank.

The adverse effects of indebtedness are too serious for developing countries to cope with themselves.

One expert on Africa, Walter Michler, pointed out that during the last two years the flow of capital between the First and the Third World has changed direction.

In 1984 Third World countries transferred $8bn more to First World countries than the latter to the former.

In 1985 the corresponding figure was $22bn, and the trend is rising.

Michler called upon the private relief organisations to join forces and voice the needs of the Third World in this field.

Who else, if not these organisations, can help increase public awareness in industrialised countries for the connection between indebtedness and hunger in the Third World.

se organisations, however, find it difficult to translate such a call into action.

The objectives of their sponsors vary too much and they often compete against each other.

Bernd Dreesmann, the general secretary of Welthungerhilfe, explained that the various private relief agencies were even unable to set up a joint donations account on the Day for Africa.

One insider talked of an "image neurosis".

Apart from the competition aspect there are also practical reasons for the lack of collaboration between development aid and famine relief organisations.

There is still no generally acceptable concept on how to reduce indebtedness.

If all debts were remitted what would happen to the banks' outstanding debts?

How can a renewed spiralling of debts be prevented?

Up to now the relief organisations have been able to avoid *having* to find an answer to these questions.

In the meantime, however, indebtedness has increased to such a degree in many countries that the work and objectives of relief organisations are in jeopardy.

The lack of capital in many countries threatens the principle of "help towards self-help".

In 1985, for example, the Inter-American Development Bank provided financial support to the tune of *roughly* $3bn for projects in Latin America.

Although Latin American countries are in particular need of capital only about $2.3bn could be spent.

The reason? The countries in question were unable to provide "their share" of the project, i.e. their own funds.

Help towards self-help is only possible in cases where a country's own resources can be activated and mere handouts avoided.

'Even organisations such as Terre des Hommes, which strongly advocated the principle of self-help, finds itself increasingly forced to be disloyal to its principles.

Growing poverty makes nutrition advisory services and basic health services meaningless.

These are replaced by soup kitchens, which make poor countries even more dependent.

In view of this situation many people actively involved in development aid feel bitter about the fact that the Bonn Ministry for Economic Cooperation has declared "help towards self-help" as its new motto.

As long as capital keeps on flowing from the poor to the rich countries development aid can be no more than repair work to prevent the very worst.

Up to now, mainly left-wing circles called for general debt clearance for Third World countries.

These circles were recently given the surprising backing of members of the US Congress, who called for a remission of debt for developing countries.

After all, they argued, how can the United States get rid of its balance of trade deficit if the Third World keeps on exporting and avoids importing at all costs in an effort to pay its debts?

Petra Lehnert

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 13 July 1986)

Continued from page 2

says an experienced but bemused German diplomat.

German negotiators can seldom react swiftly enough. As Ministers insist on their constitutional right to reach independent decisions on matters relating to their portfolios, inter-Ministerial agreements in Bonn can take ages.

Further delays seem likely now the *Länder* have seen fit to play a more active part in European Community policy.

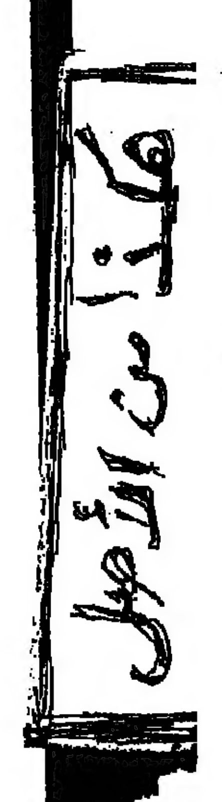
The French themselves are now beginning to worry, however, that commitments to European partnership may fall foul of this official flexibility.

"How can you possibly claim to take an even-handed European view when you don't even notice your neighbour's worries?" asked Alfred Grosser in the economic affairs journal *L'Expansion.*

Professor Grosser is no anti-nuclear campaigner yet the self-assured way in which his fellow-countrymen dismiss even the merest possibility of a French Chernobyl prompted him to draw the following comparison:

"I recently felt bound to tell a number of leading personalities in the (French) nuclear world that their unshakable conviction reminded me of that of General Gamelin in respect of the Maginot Line."

(Wirtschaftswoche, Düsseldorf, 18 July 1986)



■ FINANCE

Banks accused of helping takeovers side-step cartel regulations



The commercial banks have come under fire in a Monopolies Commission report. They are accused of aiding takeovers to get around merger controls.

The report, an analysis of the concentration of firms and companies in the Federal Republic, was commissioned by the Bonn government.

The FDP and the opposition parties feel that the report is a step in the right direction.

The Free Democrats, the SPD and the Greens want to reduce the equity banks can hold in companies.

Count Otto Lambsdorff, former FDP Economic Affairs Minister, has said that after the general election in January next year the FDP will want to discuss with the CDU and CSU limitations on the concentration of power in the hands of banks.

But the Commission has aroused greater bank displeasure this time round than in it has in past reports.

Behind the economic jurgon is concealed the simple but effective manoeuvre used by companies in take-over bids that gets round Cartel Office controls.

According to the Law Against Restraints of Competition the Cartel Office in Berlin is only obliged to investigate take-over bids when more than 25 per cent of the equity of the company to be taken over is involved. Purchases usually are just below this percentage.

At the same time banks buy up shares in this company by the system of "temporary investment," as just-retiring Commission chairman Erhard Kantzenbach put it.

The bank acquires this temporary investment to neutralise voting rights, according to the Monopolies Commission.

The bank manages the holding according to the wishes of the major company involved in the merger, without concluding any kind of trust agreement that would trigger off a merger investigation by the Federal Cartel Office.

The Commission said in its report: "The voting rights of the minority interest were strengthened in this way, for usually the bank and the merger partner have identical interests."

The Cartel Office in Berlin has drawn the Monopolies Commission's attention to a whole series of cases using this "temporary investment" technique, the first of the cases being the Metro/Kaufhof merger in which a Swiss bank participated. In its report the Monopolies Commission cites the case of the aviation and space corporation MBB and Krauss-Maffei, as an example of evasion of merger controls.

Originally MBB planned to take up a majority holding in Krauss-Maffei with management responsibilities.

This intention, like so many other mergers, came to grief in the Federal Cartel Office. Eventually an arrangement was made involving an interim holding company, in which MBB and Diehl of Nuremberg each held 50 per cent. This company held the 24.95 per cent of the Krauss-Maffei shares.

Three major banks held 31 per cent in Krauss-Maffei, 24.45 per cent was held by the Landesanstalt für Aufbaufinanzierung, a finance institution owned by the state of Bavaria, 15 per cent by Buderus and 3.6 per cent by small private investors.

The "temporary investment" by the banks is quite legal, but it stirred up Cartel Office uneasiness about the role of the banks in the deal.

The Monopolies Commission, in its 589-page report, found fault with the assistance the banks give in merger moves. It pointed out that a concentration of power into the hands of the banks has been taking place since the middle of the 1970s and this had increased in recent years.

The Commission has drawn attention to the banks' increasing economic power for a long time, along with the role banks play as financiers, the influence they can wield with proxy voting rights and their own shareholdings, and the importance they have on supervisory boards.

The Commission states in its recent report, as it has frequently pointed out in the past, that "if banks' participation in non-banks is limited to five per cent of a company's equity the commercial influence of the banks on essential lending would be limited."

The problem of the evasion of the critical threshold for merger controls would also be "decisively eased."

Exceptions should only be considered in participation in bank-related companies, so long as they fulfilled banking functions.

The CDU/CSU/FDP coalition does not see the effects of the Commission's five-per-cent suggestion in quite the same light as the SPD and the Greens. Even Lambsdorff who has for a long time called for a limitation on bank holdings in companies, has said that the recommendations "go too far."

Lambsdorff, as Economic Affairs Minister, called for a limit of 15 per cent and he repeated this at the beginning of this year.

His successor in office and party colleague Martin Bangemann is reserving his position as to how far and whether he will implement the Commission's demands.

A government statement cannot be expected until the end of this year at the earliest, possibly only after the general election in January 1987.

In April Bangemann's state secretary Otto Schlecht expressed the opinion that the government must deal with the matter if merger controls were being evaded to an increasing degree by the participation of banks in mergers.

Unlike the Monopolies Commission Schlecht calls for a new all-purpose clause.

The Cartel Office would then be obliged to examine the substantial holdings an acquistor has in a company takeover.

(Wirtschaftswoche, Düsseldorf, 18 July 1986)

Economic concentration seen as threat to competition

Competition is the breath of life to the free market economy. A successful economic system, based on free choice, can only function if market forces are equally balanced, if neither suppliers nor purchasers are in a position to impose their will on each other.

These basic factors ensure that prices in various markets are allowed to find their own level, on the one hand producers of goods and providers of services are able to make a profit and on the other purchasers are protected from impositions.

Theories dealing with perfect competition have always been pie in the sky.

Even in an ideal case of a imperfect (atomistic) competition where in every individual market there are large numbers of suppliers facing buyers, various determinant factors account for shifts in competition.

It would be a fortunate situation if these were the only factors that marred the functioning of the free market economy.

Unfortunately for a long time there has been in the supply sector an ineradicable struggle to do away with troublesome competition so as to gain the upper hand.

An effective method of doing this is to merge, taking to heart the old American adage: "If you can't beat them, join them."

This call is heard continuously if not always loudly. In the sixth special report from the Monopolies Commission, produced recently, this is clearly spelled out: Various criteria have shown over time that concentration in the West German economy has increased.

This means that in certain market sectors, but not all, the number of sup-



pliers has declined and there has been an increase in the number of major supplying companies.

The Commission members do not see this as a reason for tightening up the Law Against Restraints of Competition (amended in 1974).

There is no cause for alarm at the present, but there is a danger that workable competition might be impaired in the future by industrial mergers that have already taken place and that are planned for the immediate future.

The Commission amplifies this, however, and this is significant. It says that this is true only if in future international competitive pressure remains as a result of liberal foreign trade policies.

This comment is important because the Europe Community's foreign trade policies certainly give rise to questions in this direction.

Increasing protectionist efforts within the Common Market, be it in textiles, ball-bearings or video-recorders, would seem to contradict this position.

Reactions from industry and the banks indicate that the Monopolies Commission has touched a nerve in two other instances.

The one concerns the question of major mergers, generally speaking along the lines of the Daimler/AEG merger, disregarding whether such a merger creates an organisation that has market domination.

There is legislation to deal with such commercial combinations, of course. But the Commission pleads for something far beyond this, for de-coupling the critical threshold at which cartel authorities are obliged to investigate situations which constitute a merger.

Furthermore the Commission calls for a ban on the merger if an improvement in competition cannot be expected from it, or if the merger does not in itself compensate for expected disadvantages. Seen from this position then it follows that mergers of this kind could lead to an undesirable concentration of power. Competition on specific markets is dependent on there being a number of decision-making centres.

These are lost when companies merge and too few top managers have their hands on the economic gear lever.

The West German Industry Federation criticised this aspect. The Federation pointed out that the socio-political aspect of mergers is very important as well and plays a major part in whether competition acutally works.

Whether the Monopolies Commission, as the Industry Federation supposes, overstepped its brief by going into such matters, is an open question.

It is, however, helpful that the Commission takes note of these factors, for there is bound to be further discussion of the matter from this viewpoint.

The second nerve to be touched concerns the Commission's demand that a limit of five per cent should be imposed on banks' participation in non-banks.

The Commission members have brought this up again, because the concentration of power into the hands of the banks has increased. They are of the view that increased participation by banks in companies is to be deplored, particularly in cases where companies are trying to gain holdings in another business.

The Federal Cartel Office in Berlin has realised over the past few years that its hands are tied. There are a lot of cases that need to be investigated but cannot be because current merger controls make such investigations impossible.

The banks would not be in a position to offer assistance of this kind if their participation was limited to just five per cent.

The changes recommended by the Monopolies Commission are certainly not emergency measures that will avert an economic cardiac arrest at the last moment.

The Commission has merely underlined the sector where prophylactic measures could be applied to prevent further deterioration of workable competition.

There is time to come to decisions calmly, but not to allow things just to carry on unhindered.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 July 1986)

■ OIL

No gusher, but a dribbling revival by Deutsche BP

DIE ZEIT

German BP is busy restructuring in an effort to revive some entrepreneurial spirit. It made a profit of just over 37 million marks in 1985. This follows a run of hefty losses in the early years of the 1980s.

But the profit is paltry when compared to competitors: Deutsche Shell had a profit of 466 million marks in 1985 and paid even more, 660 million marks, to its Dutch head office.

Esso had a profit of 190 million marks. Exxon in New York received a dividend of 16 per cent of this amount.

Buddenberg, however, dismisses such comparisons by pointing out that Deutsche BP's competitors make their profits via the production of oil and gas in Germany, whereas his company is not allowed to. Buddenberg hopes to make up lost ground by restructuring.

Deutsche BP's 1985 annual report reveals very little that was truly entrepreneurial. It has slipped a lot since 1979, when it was the best performer in the country.

Seven years ago, after Deutsche BP took over Gelsenberg from Veba for *DM800m, the company had a payroll of about 10,000, a refining capacity of 24 million tons of crude oil,* and marketed just as high a product volume.

Things have changed. As a holding company with independently operating subsidiaries or managing companies in the four lines of business, oil, chemicals and plastics, gas and coal, Deutsche BP today is little more than an oil trading company.

It now only manages to refine three million tons of crude oil in Coburg and Ingolstadt.

The company's staff figure has been cut to roughly 5,300 employees, and product sales fell to approximately 14 million tons.

110 y about 1,300 of the 3,600 petrol stations (including the subsidiary Fanal) the company once operated still exist.

The whole oil industry has run up against hard times.

Oil refining capacity in the Federal Republic has halved since 1980.

According to the Energy Industry Institute at the university of Cologne the losses of all companies in the field of refining in the Federal Republic during the last seven years add up to over DM17bn.

However, no company came to terms worse with the effects of the second oil price crisis than Deutsche BP.

In 1978 the company even extended its refining capacities by taking over Gelsenberg from Veba.

It only pulled through the troubled times which followed with the help of the DM2bn it received from its British parent company to cover its losses.

Buddenberg was hoping that his new restructuring, which cost at least DM700m, would enable a new start.

He has managed to reduce the company's fixed costs by an annual DM500m, or roughly 45 per cent.

This is still nowhere near the DM700m to DM900m he was hoping for.

The relative nature of the company's success becomes clear when a look is taken at the company's sales figures since 1980.

Company' sales since 1980 fell by *almost the same percentage figure, i.e.* BP's fixed costs today are hardly lower than before restructuring.

Falling sales

What is more, Deutsche BP has lost shares of the West German market as a result of the fact that total sales of oil products have fallen by 23 per cent since the peak year of 1979.

During the past, Buddenberg has shown that can be a good businessman under more favourable circumstances.

In 1980, for example, he publicly announced that his company, then emloying 4,200 people, "sells 25 million tons of oil products, whereas the figure was only 15 million tons five years ago".

Without the help of its extremely patient parent company in London the German BP subsidiary would have also been unable to record a profit this year.

London assumed the exploration costs of the BP subsidiary Gelsenberg Algérie S.A.R.L. amounting to DM28.5m, and the same figure is recorded as extraordinary income in the profit and loss acount of the Hamburg-based Deutsche BP.

The BP managers seem to have been must as unsuccessful in their efforts to open up new markets outside of oil as they have been in their exploration activities.

The new division of operational activities into four lines of business seems *highly theoretical* in view of the fact that oil still accounts for just under 90 per cent of company turnover and that this is the only field in which the Deutsche BP — if at all — can take real business decisions.

Even here, however, success is not exactly overwhelming.

Operating profits amounting to DM110m more or less correspond to the additional costs of rationalisation in the oil line of business.

An accounting trick booked these costs as extraordinary expenditures, thus enabling a fictitious profit figure.

In the other lines of business, which may not be so important in terms of volume but which provided DM170m in operating profits, all BP can really do is collect the money.

This applies to the EC Erdölchemie company in Cologne, where the chemicals company Bayer also has a fifty per cent stake, and above all to natural gas operations.

The listing of a 25 per cent share in *the Ruhrgas company* in Deutsche BP's annual report underlines the gap between appearance and reality.

Ruhrgas accounts for only 0.4 per cent of Deutsche BP's turnover, and everyone knows that the head of Ruhrgas, Klaus Liesen, is not a man to be told what to do, even by major shareholder BP.

Most of DM91m in shareholding profits in 1985 came from Ruhrgas.

Just collecting shareholding profits, however, is not enough for a company which wants to be more than a mere financial holding company.

It was hardly surprising, therefore, that Buddenberg announced last year that Deutsche BP would be looking for additional lucrative lines of business.

In February Deutsche BP called for

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Opec takes step towards production cuts

Eleven of Opec's 13 members have agreed on voluntary cuts in oil production totalling 1.925 million barrels a day, says the oil-producing nations' president, Rinwalu Lukman. The organisation is trying to get a binding agreement on lower quotas. The action has been taken in a bid to stop the plummeting price of oil, which has fallen below 10 dollars a barrel for the second time this year. Fears now are that it could plunge further. Opec's inability to work on quotas and its persistent overproduction — plus customers replenishing their stocks — mean that between a million and two million barrels a day are being produced above what is needed.

If the oil ministers of the 13 Opec countries cannot agree now on firm production quotas, it will probably be impossible to stop prices from falling below $5 a barrel.

A year ago only isolated members broke ranks and produced more oil than allowed in the production *quotas* — and then sold below the recommended price.

But last month, even the more moderate Saudi Arabians produced more than their "allotted" production quota of 4.35 million barrels a day.

The Saudis allegedly produced 6 million barrels.

Opec members are currently producing over 20 million, some say almost 21 billion, barrels a day — at least four billion barrels above their self-imposed ceiling.

The current production level is also five million barrels above worldwide demand for Opec oil, which experts is estimated to be roughly 16 million barrels.

Opec strategists, irrespective of which strategy they support, are well aware of the fact that any Opec resolution is of purely academic importance.

The oil ministers are no longer able to influence the oil market and are forced to bow to market forces.

It is unrealistic to presume that any short- or medium-term strategy pursued by Opec will be able the shape the course of developments on the oil market.

Any attempt to do so would have to begin by reducing the current national production quotas by approximately 30 per cent, and this not just on paper.

The Saudi Arabians, however, feel

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■ TRANSPORT

Hydrogen seen as car fuel of the future if problems can be solved

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The international hydrogen conference, held every other year in a different venue, could hardly have been held at a more favourable moment.

This year the experts are meeting in Vienna, and in the wake of Chernobyl keener interest is being shown in alternative energy resources, just as it was after the 1973 and 1979 oil price hikes.

Hydrogen is a leading alternative to fossil fuels. It is available in virtually unlimited quantity in H_2O and, ideally at least, burns almost without toxic exhaust fumes as steam.

So over 400 specialists from 42 countries attended the sixth international hydrogen conference. They include the Soviet Union, other East Bloc states and China.

Their aim was to review progress on harnessing hydrogen as an energy resource.

There has been no lack of good ideas on *this subject* in the past. In the late 1970s Lockheed suggested an air cargo run between Pittsburgh and Riyadh via Frankfurt am Main.

It was to be served by four hydrogen-powered L-1011 aircraft.

As converting their engines to run on hydrogen would have cost about $650m, the project failed to get off the ground for lack of funds.

A Japanese proposal to run a hydrogen-powered high-speed rail service has similarly failed to make headway. Professor Walter Peschka of the German Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR) told the conference.

In Canada, in contrast, research work on hydrogen-powered locomotives continues and has proved a success.

The Canadians can use low-cost hydroelectric power to split water into hydrogen and oxygen by means of hydrolysis, then use the inexpensive hydrogen as a fuel.

The automobile industry, delegates were told in the Austrian capital, has taken an extremely practical look at hydrogen as a motor fuel.

The DFVLR, which held the Vienna conference jointly with the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the International Hydrogen Energy Agency, fitted out a two-litre BMW 518 several years ago with a high-pressure tank holding 120 litres of deep-frozen liquid hydrogen.

The tank virtually filled the car's boot but its contents, used to power a carburettor engine, were enough for a range of over 500km, or 300 miles.

The engine, a conventional production-line model, did not even require conversion to the new fuel.

Evaporation proved a problem. Some of the hydrogen evaporated. After about 30 days the tank was empty even when the car had been parked up and not driven at all.

Much better insulated hydrogen tanks have since been devised. Nowadays a hydrogen-powered car could be left unattended for about three months before the fuel evaporated, the conference was told.

Daimler-Benz presented another technique in which hydrogen was combined with a metal (a titanium-chronium-manganese alloy), making a king-sized high-pressure tank unnecessary.

The extra weight is a drawback. The hydrogen storage unit is extremely heavy yet holds only 5.4 kilograms of hydrogen.

Fifteen test vehicles, five Mercedes 280 TEs and ten Mercedes 230s, are on trial in Berlin.

Other countries have not been inactive either. In Switzerland, for instance, experiments have aimed at combining hydrogen chemically with the liquid hydrocarbon toluol.

The Japanese in contrast are working on a three-cylinder, two-stroke, hydrogen-diesel engine, the Americans on a hydrogen-powered six-cylinder 3.8-litre Buick, for one.

Everyone is keen to offset the disadvantages of hydrogen in one way or another. It must either be stored in special twin-walled pressure tanks at temperatures of below -250° C to stay liquid or combined *chemically with other substances, which* creates weight and other problems.

Liquid hydrogen must be kept at the required temperature. At -253° C it evaporates, becoming a gas with too low an energy density.

Pure hydrogen is extremely light in weight. Liquid hydrogen is only about a third of the weight of conventional motor fuel in terms of energy output. But it takes up much more space.

Hydrogen as a fuel needs a tank three to four times larger than a conventional petrol or diesel tank.

Yet BMW executive Hans Hagen told the Vienna conference he was confident hydrogen had a bright future as a motor fuel. He unveiled the first liquid-hydrogen fuel-injection car in Europe, a BMW 745i with a 3.5-litre engine that had just been built.

The car has a 45-litre tank and a 200-hp engine, so it equals in power the same model using conventional fuel.

He said, however, that the combustion chamber, the shape of the fuel tank and other parts of the car still needed to be redesigned for the hydrogen-powered version.

It could be a decade before a hydrogen-powered car was ready for mass production. Once it was mass produced it would cost between 10 and 15 per cent more than petrol-engined cars.

This difference was roughly the same as the price differential between petrol- and diesel-engined models today.

Anatol Johansen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 July 1986)

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that they can only safeguard their previous market share via a low oil price, Iraq officially wants to be allowed to produce as much oil as Iran, the Iranians threaten to produce twice as much as Iraq, and the United Arab Emirates reject a quota of less than 1.5 million barrels a day.

The most recent compromise planned was for 1.1 million barrels a day.

It is hard to see how all these differing positions can be reduced to one common denominator.

Within the Opec itself the allotment of production quotas is not the only big problem.

The price of oil also presents a major headache. Officially, the price recommended by Opec of $28 a barrel still applies.

Most Opec ministers realise that this price level cannot be reaffirmed.

However, countries such as Iran, Algeria and Libya still dream of pushing the oil price up to this level again with their radical demands.

In the light of these efforts the price of between $17 and $19, on which Indonesia's oil minister Subroto bases his compromise proposal, seems more realistic.

Josef Abaffy

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 30 July 1986)

Seat belts, autobahns reasons for declining road deaths

There were fewer road deaths last year than in any year since 1955. The increased use of seat belts is one reason. The other is increased use of autobahns instead of other roads.

Autobahns are considered to be the world's safest highways. In 1984, 4.4 per cent of road accidents and 6.6 per cent of road deaths were on autobahns. But traffic using them has grown from 14.9 per cent in 1969 to 26.7 per cent in 1984.

The Federal Road Research Establishment says that at least 1,000 road deaths a year are avoided by this increased traffic. In 1984 and 1985, deaths would have otherwise been up between 40 and 55 per cent. The crucial reasons for this increase were a more extensive autobahn network and recommended, not compulsory, speed limits.

The Road Research Establishment says their safety in increased because:

- they are restricted to motor vehicles only;
- minor mistakes do not necessarily prove disastrous;
- aids such as hard shoulders, central reservations, crash barriers, safe slip roads and acceleration lanes all help drivers.

In 1955 there were 2,200 kilometres (1,375 miles) of autobahn, increasing to 2,600km (1,625 miles) in 1960 and to 8,100km (5,062 miles) by 1984.

By next year a further 167km will bring the total to 5,167 miles.

If more traffic were diverted to minor roads the Road Research Establishment feels there would be roughly 1,000 more road deaths a year.

The Motor Insurers' Association (HUK) reports more accidents on country and main through roads in the first few months of 1986, the first in 16 years.

Accident research specialist Professor Max Danner says that despite the trend toward using the autobahn it is realistic to expect 9,000 people to be killed in road accidents in the Federal Republic of Germany this year.

Heinz Horrmann

(Die Welt, Bonn, 25 July 1986)

THE ARTS

Writers may be blessed with a Muse but that doesn't pay the bills

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

A survey in Cologne reveals that writers there have a hard time surviving. Few make a living out of writing. Most have to do extra work.

There are a lot of writers in Cologne. One reason is the prospect of supplementing their income writing for one of the four broadcasting organisations there, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Deutsche Welle, Deutschlandfunk and the *British Forces Broadcasting System*.

The survey was carried out by Jürgen Gerhards and Helmut Anheier for Cologne University's social studies research unit.

Fifteen researchers interviewed 149 writers and found that:

- A third earn nothing at all from writing;
- 77 per cent earn less than half their income from writing;
- More than half earn less than a tenth of their income from writing;
- 30 per cent have no pension rights or insurance cover for old age;
- Average earnings for the non-established writers interviewed are DM2,025 a month.

The writers interviewed were, Gerhards says, frank and cooperative. Their freelance work helps to ensure survival and goes a long way toward explaining why over half the writers interviewed felt Cologne was important as a place to live.

Many are badly covered by social security: thirty per cent have no pension rights or life insurance cover for old age.

This mainly applies to writers who *have yet to make names for themselves*, but that means over half the total interviewed, a category. Gerhards and Anheier classify as the periphery.

Their social situation is none too promising either. Writers in this category are, Gerhards say, "neither informed about themselves nor friends with other members of the periphery."

Their average net earnings total a mere DM2,025 a month.

Over one writer in three polled earns nothing at all from writing, as against the DM3,500 a month netted by a handful of established writers, over half of which comes from writing.

The road to success is long and hard. The few established writers are, for the most part, over 40.

Writers' views on the literary scene, on their own work and on authordom in general is just as revealing as their social position.

One question asked was yardsticks writers felt guided by in their work. Writing to order (commissioned work) no longer plays the major role it once did, whereas literary journals loom large.

Work by fellow-writers is also rated important. On average writers read 24 new books a year — always assuming they are telling the truth.

In contrast they on average attend only two readings a year by other writers. So one is bound to wonder whether they prefer the splendid isolation of an ivory tower or are simply too lazy to get out and about.

They certainly don't meet each other much. The Cologne branch of the German Writers' Association is the largest in the city but only a third of its members regularly attend meetings.

Other striking points revealed by the survey are:

- Over 41 per cent of Cologne writers are not members of an established church, as against 16.9 per cent in 1984 for the population as a whole.

Cologne is a cathedral city with strong Roman Catholic traditions, so Gerhards may be right in tentatively suggesting that literature may be seen as a substitute for religion.

- Literary agents are almost insignificant in Cologne if answers to two further questions are any guide.

They were: "Who would you ask for advice if you went through a sticky patch in writing a book?" and "Whose criticism of your work counts most in your opinion?"

About one in three named the companion or best friend (11.8 and 18.6 per cent respectively). Fellow writers and publishers' readers (6. and 11.7 per cent) paled in comparison.

Writers were even less interested in what the critics felt (nine per cent) or how audiences reacted at public readings (2.8 per cent).

Gerhards attributes this outlook to the fairly unprofessional way in which the literary scene is run.

Literary circles, coffee houses and similar meeting places have also declined in importance, certainly in Cologne, where the emphasis is definitely on the private sector.

The 149 Cologne writers were asked 105 questions. Computer evaluation of their replies already fills entire files and possible inferences and conclusions are to be published in book form.

They may then serve as a bedrock of information for arts bodies, for instance. But sponsors are still being sought to finance publication.

Emmanuel van Stein

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 23 July 1986)

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the payment of DM650m in outstanding liabilities from the parent company in London.

It is not clear whether BP in London will agree.

Last year, the parent company took over the SCS Scientific Control GmbH, the biggest management consulting agency in the Federal Republic which up until then was a subsidiary of Deutsche BP.

Rainer Hupe

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 25 July 1986)

Theories about why there are not more women composers

There are well-known modern women composers such as Nadia Boulanger, Germaine Tailleferre, Grazyna Bacewicz and Tona Scherchen.

Yet there are fewer than there should be, especially in Germany. Why? Various reasons have been put forward:

- Historic neglect is one theory. Women have always composed music but their efforts have been dismissed.
- Oppression takes this argument one step further, arguing that creative women have constantly been discouraged by jealous men — fathers, brothers and husbands.

This discouragement is seen over and above the biological and social burdens that beset women in virtually all walks of life.

Felix Mendelssohn strongly and effectively discouraged his sister Fanny when she tried her hand at composing music. Gustav Mahler similarly discouraged his wife Alma.

- Women's music, the third argument, works on the assumption that women composers adopt a women's approach that is alien to the accepted, male concept of music.

Evidence can be put forward in support of all these claims, but none is entirely convincing.

So the only option is to fight prejudice, to make women composers in history better known and to ensure that present-day women composers are given a better hearing.

A four-day festival was held at Dilsberg, near Heidelberg, to popularise and publicise women in music.

It was sponsored by the Society of Friends of Chamber Music, Heidelberg, who hold annual concerts at Dilsberg, the Women and Music Working Party, set up in 1978, and Gedok, the Women Artists' Association.

The four-day festival of concerts, lectures and debates is to be followed the year after next by an International Congress on Women in Music.

Dilsberg is a fortress and the festival was intended as a stronghold — but not as a ghetto. Men were allowed both to attend, to take part and to share in the organisation.

But composer Robert Wittinger came under heavy fire when he argued that feminists tended to overstate their case on discrimination; male composers had just as hard a time of it but didn't complain so bitterly.

The debate was scaled down to a note of greater realism when young women composers at the festival told audiences more about themselves.

They included Violeta Dinescu, whose opera *Hunger und Durst* was premiered last November, Adriana Hölszky, who teaches at Stuttgart college of music and is running a composers' workshop in Darmstadt during the summer holidays, and Susanne Erding.

All three have been commissioned to write the music for new operas. All are busy working composers and prize-winners. All are aware of discrimination but cannot really claim to have suffered from it themselves.

The younger generation seemed in debate to be slowly losing sight of the problem as seen by their elders, arguably because times are changing.

In the United States there are 1,500-2,000 women among the roughly 10,000 registered composers of "serious" music. In Poland there are about 200 women composers.

Ruth Schonthal, born in Hamburg in 1925, told a tale typical of Jewish emigrés of her age. She was a pupil of Paul Hindemith's and is now an active and respected composer in the New World.

In the music she writes (and plays as an accomplished pianist) she remains faithful to her lost home and the idea of a better German culture.

Her work has a nostalgic ring of Schumann and Mahler, although there can be no mistaking the counterpoint provided by clusters and piano work along the lines of Henry Cowell that upsets this idyll.

Is composing of this kind typical of women? This epithet must surely be better deserved by the specifically female viewpoint and experience reflected in Fragments from a Woman's Diary, which feature "naughty" children.

Ruth Schonthal was a composer whose work was previously unknown against the background of New Music.

What about the past? Musicologist Eva Weissweiler came across Johanna Kinkel, an 1848 Bonn revolutionary and writer in the Bettina von Arnim circle, while still a student in Bonn.

Johanna Kinkel was a talented amateur and as such may deserve to have been forgotten, but not for her work on music theory. Her essay on Chopin was far ahead of her time.

Another woman composer who has gone largely unnoticed is Barbara Strozzi, 1619-1664, from Venice.

As a contemporary of Buxtehude she was a volcano of spirited musicality, at times tending toward caricature.

She gave the movement a tremendous impetus, heralding Vivaldi and Bach. She was, in other words, more than a mere musician of her day and age.

In early centres of economic prosperity such as the cities of Renaissance Italy there were equal rights for creative women, witness Barbara Strozzi in Venice and Francesca and Settimia Caccini in Florence.

So what becomes of women composers largely depends on cultural circumstances. Composing music is a luxury and a career that seldoms earns a living.

It has often been pursued by women aristocrats such as Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia, a pupil of Bach's grandson.

The festival unwittingly testified to the extent to which extraneous circumstances can affect a woman's career in music.

Violeta Dinescu and Adriana Hölszky, who both studied at the Bucharest conservatory, were looking forward to meeting their teacher Myriam Marbé again.

She had been invited to take part and it was not until the last minute that the organisers learnt she had been refused an exit visa.

Husbands and brothers no longer seem to be the main obstacle faced by women composers. In this case it was officialdom.

Detlef Gojowy

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 July 1986)

THE CINEMA

A little girl battles against the big, bad time-robbers

RHEINISCHE POST

Momo is the main character in a successful 1973 children's book by Michael Ende.

Millions of children have their own idea of what Momo looked like. This was director Johannes Schaaf's main problem in making the film, *Momo*.

Momo is one the most lovable personalities of the century, a little girl who gazes intently at the world around her. Her searching gaze exposes feelings of guilt.

She is exceedingly wise, but not cheeky, boastful or self-opinionated. She is talented and has a gift that we no longer have; she has time to listen to people.

Making a film of Momo was different *from making* a film of Astrid Lindgren's Pippi Langstrumpf, whose image is well-known as a pert, brash little girl *with* pigtails and freckles.

Momo is a little girl with warmth in the intensity of her eyes. Schaaf has found the ideal Momo in Radost Bokel, a Frankfurt schoolgirl.

One day Momo, aged 10, appears at the edge of a town where ordinary people work. She had hidden in a cave in the amphitheatre to escape being sent to an orphanage.

She finds friends, Nino the landlord, Nikola the bricklayer, Gigi the tourist guide and Peppo the road-sweeper.

They all take Momo under their wing and do up the cave to make it into a cosy place for her to live in.

They all gain something from having Momo with them. She is so small she can give them advice, act as mediator and friend.

Life in the neighbourhood becomes richer, happier when Momo began to live there.

Then suddenly there is an uneasy atmosphere in the neighbourhood. The Grey Men from the time-saving bank bring in trouble. They make the cosy, warm, hearty world of the neighbourhood cold and harsh.

They visit the people individually and tell them that their readiness to help, their goodness and brotherly love were a waste of time, that they should use their lives to increase their wealth, to gain property and win influence.

Although the good people at first laugh at the Grey Men and deride their advice they are gradually influenced by it. They work harder and apply themelves little by little to these new aims. They save time.

Only Momo finds out it is all a great swindle. One of the agents of the time-saving bank is so maddened by Momo's resistance and disregard for what the Grey Men say, that he reveals to her the details of the time-swindle.

Then Momo, alone and isolated, aided by the children from the suburbs, tries to stage a demonastration against the power of the Grey Men.

But no-one listens to her warning, and she does not know what to do.

Then the tortoise Cassiopeia shows her the way to the home of the all-powerful Master Hora. Here she finds the key with which she can ward off the dangers of the time-robbers.

Only two years ago producer Bernd Eichinger and director Wolfgang Petersen made the film of Michael Ende's other successful novel, *Never-Ending Story*.

This special-effects spectacular cost DM60m. Petersen made his film following the high-budget Hollywood pattern, but Schaaf, fundamentally a man of the theatre, followed Italian burlesque, Stehler's Piccolo-Theater and the Commedia dell'arte.

In his best scenes he harks back with considerable sensitivity to Vittorio de Sica's *Miracle in Milan*. At the end the whole of the amphitheatre turns like a a revolving stage, and in an ironic-comic manner stage thunder echoes in the cinema.

The film is not only lucky in the discovery of Radost Bokel, who plays Momo with charm, but in the brilliant Italian comedians in the cast, particularly the onetime Paolo Pasolini star Ninetto Davoli, Leopoldo Trieste as Peppo and Bruno Stori as Gigi.

John Huston plays Master Hora with authority and a tinge of the ironic. Mario Adorf as Nikola and Armin Müller-Stahl as the lord of the Grey Men do not do so well.

The great beauty of Schaaf's production is that nothing is forced or lifeless. Angelo Branduardi has produced discreet background music, and Xaver Schwarzenberger shows again that he is one of our best cameramen.

He avoids dazzling colours, filming the dim world of the Grey Men in grey-blue light.

Just once or twice it would have been better if the sets were simpler and more economic, but in the end when Schaaf shows the stage as stage and the back-drops as back-drops he makes up for everything.

Except for John Huston, all the actors were present at the première in Düsseldorf.

Heiko R. Blum

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 18 July 1986)



Beware of the Grey Men. . . Radost Bokel as Momo. (Photo: Tobis-Filmkunst)

A couple both separated and fettered by two cultures

Mannheimer MORGEN

When Turkish director Tevfik Baser's film *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* opens in West Germany audiences will come right up against how despairing life is for a foreign worker in this country.

He filmed it in West Germany. It was awarded the film critics' prize in Cannes.

Dursun (played by Yaman Okay) brings his wife Turna (Özay Fecht) from their small Turkish village to Hamburg. She had always begged her mother to let her join her husband in the new country.

Turna unpacks her suitcase and Dursun goes off to work. She pauses for a moment with a smile on her face that reflects everything, joy, love, the delight in reunion and the excitement at being abroad.

By accident she tries the door-knob and finds it locked. The smile dies away.

In the evening there is a quarrel between the two. Dursun forbids her to have any contact with the outside world.

He is not being deliberately cruel. Although outwardly he has adjusted to life in Germany, he holds the German way of life in contempt. It has remained foreign to him. He believes the way of life in this country is immoral and corrupt. He does not want to lose his wife to it. Turna is obedient but she does not understand her husband. Her resistance is passive. She cuts off her beautiful, long hair and evades all intimacies. When she has finished her work she stares out of the window to a small view of a large city. It is a dirty courtyard where young boys play football, opposite there is a small grocer's shop and in front a prostitute. One day a small girl, appears at the window of the house opposite, waves and shows her doll.

Despair in a foreign country . . . Özay Fecht as Turna in *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland*. (Photo: dpa)

Turna laughs once more. She fetches her doll. This is communication without words.

Then a young woman appears from the depths of the house opposite. When she sees to whom the child is waving, she brutally pulls her away from the window.

One evening Dursun promises to take her to the fair. Turna is overjoyed.

When the day comes she puts on her best clothes, the clothes she would wear for a special occasion at home in her village.

Her husband is horrified at her appearance. He cannot walk down a German street with her looking like that.

Unable to explain this to her he makes an excuse for leaving the house and returns late at night.

Turna looks like a fairy princess, beautiful, but not like a German woman in any way.

The tragedy of the film is that a married couple is separated and fettered by two cultures. The young Turkish girl is in despair, fleeing from loneliness and hopelessness into day-dreams.

When she is pregnant Dursun is overjoyed. He promises her everything if she bears him a son. Turna just suffers. She is plagued by hallucinations and anxiety.

Eventually there is a catastrophe. Dursun dies in an epileptic fit. His heavy dead body lies across the doorway.

With the last of her strength she moves the body away from the door and tries to explain what has happened to her neighbour, but no-one understands her.

Speechless and dazed she goes down the stairs and out to freedom.

Where to? Who will help her? How long will she wander through the streets? For days, perhaps, and then?

The audience is not provided with answers.

Anette Ascher

(Mannheimer Morgen, 21 July 1986)

■ EDUCATION

Bureaucrats, language problems, lack of cash, plague foreign students

Visa difficulties are one reason why fewer foreigners are applying to study at German universities, says a report by a university research unit.

Visa regulations were tightened in 1982 and there are regional variations in how they are applied.

This seems to contradict Bonn Education Minister Dorothee Wilms when she says university and vocational courses for foreigners make a major contribution toward international understanding and the dissemination of German language and literature.

"They are extremely important for the Federal Republic of Germany's external relations as a whole," she said in reply to a parliamentary question.

But the government notes "with alarm" that the number of applications by foreigners for university places and preparatory language courses has been on the decline for some time.

Fewer and fewer students are coming from developing countries.

Newly published findings of a survey by the HIS university research unit unveil some of the reasons.

The findings are based on interviews with experts and those affected, including a survey of foreign students.

In recent years there have been about 69,000 foreign students — a third women — at German universities according to Education Ministry statistics.

Half the foreign students are from

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

European countries, including 15,600 from other European Community countries.

The largest group from non-member European countries, 8,780, are from Turkey. Many Turkish students do not count because they completed secondary education in the Federal Republic.

More than 20,000 come from Asia — most from Iran, followed by Indonesia, South Korea and Japan.

A further 7,360 students came from America, about half from the United States, and 4,120 from Africa.

The first hurdle would-be foreign students must scale is the visa application.

In 1982 stricter visa regulations were enforced, the rules having for years been relaxed for students.

Students from all countries except other members of the European Community and a select group of eight other states had to have a visa before arriving in Germany.

Visas are only issued provided they have sufficient financial resources to fund their studies and have been given a place at either university or preparatory college.

The survey indicates that politicians seem to have underestimated the difficulties this requirement has caused.

In 1983 the Foreign Office eased the situation slightly by issuing study application visas to enable would-be students to visit Germany and arrange a course of study. Once they were enrolled they could then apply for a visa.

But this category of visa is only valid for three months, which the survey shows is simply not long enough in which to visit the Federal Republic, tour universities and gain admission.

Besides, different criteria are applied by different *Länder* in issuing study application visas, with the result that certain *Länder* predominate.

The full student visa is then valid for only one or two years and so has to be renewed more than once.

Experts are critical of extraneous criteria applied in deciding whether or not to issue or renew a student visa.

Applications may, for instance, be refused because the authorities are keen to prevent proliferation of foreign nationals in a certain town or area. Universities ought, the survey says, to be given wider powers.

At all events the initial visa, issued for a period during which foreign students face particularly serious difficulties of all kinds, ought to be granted for two years, not one.

Foreign students claim to have been told by local government officials that they are a burden on the German economy. In individual instances the Aliens' Act is enforced more strictly than envisaged.

One aliens department is said to have insisted on students proving they had at least 14 square metres of accommodation even though rooms in most student hostels were much smaller.

Despite these difficulties the Education Ministry is keen to retain the current arrangements and does not see them as in any way to blame for the alleged decline in numbers of students from developing countries.

Statistics have yet to prove there has been a decline, it is argued, and even if there is it could well be due mainly to economic conditions in many developing countries making it impossible for students to study abroad.

The Bonn government has every intention of improving another factor that must not be underrated: the information about the German educational system available in developing countries.

The survey indicates that German embassies are often not in a position to supply more than strictly limited information in response to enquiries.

The Federal Republic is at a disadvantage here in comparison with former colonial powers. Would-be students from French-speaking countries prefer to study in France; would-be students from English-speaking countries would sooner study in Britain or the United States.

All are countries with education systems in which Third World students feel more at home because they often closely resemble the system in use in their own countries.

The German system of specialised colleges is virtually unknown abroad and its diplomas are often not recognised. Yet the academic advisory council feels college courses are particularly suitable for foreign students because they combine theory and practice.

Students from developing countries have engineering, maths, science, medical, agriculture, forestry and nutrition as their preferences. All except medicine are taught at German colleges.

So most foreign nationals at these colleges are young people who have been to German secondary schools. They are children of migrant workers who have gained university entrance qualifications in the Federal Republic.

In 1983 about one in three of 15,15? foreign first-year students were educated in Germany. New admission arrangements are being made for young people in this category.

At present they are at a disadvantage in relation to "bona fide" foreigners whose grades are usually over-generous in comparison with German ones.

The survey also indicates that foreign students are roughly as successful as their German counterparts. At full universities they take only 1.7 semesters longer to complete their courses, plus previous language courses where applicable.

The first year is the toughest. Fifty per cent of course-switchers switch courses in the first two semesters. They either had misconceived ideas about their chosen course of study or were misinformed.

The colleges where foreign students are taught German and otherwise prepared for university study in Germany are uniformly felt by experts to have difficulty in reconciling their many tasks.

Teaching German is one, eliminating shortcomings in previous schooling another, while they are also expected to prepare would-be students for their chosen course of study.

Stricter differentiation between subjects or closer attention to individual problems could well help to improve matters in many cases.

Red tape, study and language problems are accompanied for two out of three foreign students by financial difficulties.

Unlike foreign students who are paid grants (usually foreign students who went to school in Germany) or have been awarded scholarships, they have to work their way through college.

The survey recommends easing employment restrictions and awarding more scholarships for foreign students in this category.

In 1984 Federal government scholarships totalled DM83m and *Land* government scholarships DM15m.

This year the Bundestag has launched an emergency fund for foreign students in difficulties such as may arise when there are political upheavals in their native countries.

Many Iranian students suddenly found themselves high and dry after the Islamic revolution, for instance.

Political changes are usually the reason why students prefer not to return home. Reintegration ought, it is felt, to be promoted during their course of study.

The poll of foreign students — not, it must be recalled, a representative cross-section — shows that students who get on well in Germany are the most likely to return home.

They are likelier to do so than foreign students (of whom there are many) who complain of isolation and failure to make contact.

Those who experience tolerance evidently feel they retain leeway to maintain their cultural identity, making it easier for them to return home after completing their course of study.

The survey sheds light on a number of

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Danger of disturbing the atmospheric balance of Greenhouse Earth

The atmosphere that surrounds the Earth and makes life on it possible is much more closely interlinked with the biosphere than has been supposed, says a German environmental research scientist.

It is where the oxygen and carbon dioxide cycle, so vital for photosynthesis by plants and breathing by man and animals, and the equally vital water cycle take place.

In addition to nitrogen, oxygen and argon, which between them make up 99.9 per cent of the atmosphere, there are countless substances crucial despite being around only in infinitesimally small quantities.

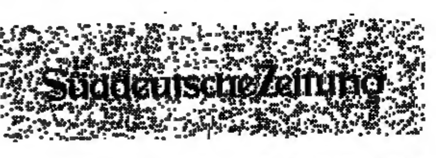
Trace substances in the atmosphere play a key role in essential nutrient cycles, cycles that largely take place in the atmosphere.

Trace substances shield the surface of the planet from lethal short-wave solar radiation. Trace substances largely determine the climate.

They regulate the Earth's balance of radiation, they account for the greenhouse effect that has made the Earth habitable in the cold of the universe.

They are also the basic substances that are converted by chemical processes in the atmosphere into toxic substances that wreak havoc on the environment.

Wolfgang Seiler, new head of the



Fraunhofer Institute of Atmospheric Environmental Research in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, says the atmosphere resembles a living creature in many ways.

It constantly ingests a large number of chemical substances that take shape in the biosphere, converts them chemically and physically, transports them over long distances and returns them to the biosphere.

One of the atmosphere's major functions is that of oxydising trace substances emitted by the biosphere in a reduced form and returning them to the soil dissolved in rainwater.

The cycles of these various trace substances run at different speeds. Individual gases take different lengths of time to originate and break up in the atmosphere.

It can be a matter of only minutes or even seconds where trace substances that are particularly liable to react, radical compounds, are concerned.

Carbon monoxide in contrast takes several months to undergo a total exchange in the atmosphere. Methane takes 10 years to do so. Oxygen takes millions of years.

The atmosphere also reacts like a living being in its reaction to changes in surroundings or initial conditions. As a result of its complex interaction with the biosphere natural and man-made upsets are offset to some extent.

But if these disturbances exceed certain levels the chemical make-up of the atmosphere undergoes such stark changes that sensitive eco-systems governed by trace substances in the atmosphere are thrown off balance.

Changes in flora and fauna then result. Forest damage on a scale many would only have felt possible in industrial areas occurs in clean-air Alpine regions, for instance.

"We cannot rule out the possibility," Seiler says, "that we are pushing a barrage of environmental problems we have failed to recognise as such before us, a barrage that will preoccupy us more intensively in the near future."

Using intensive measurement programmes featuring balloons, aircraft, ships and land-based stations (on mountain peaks, for instance) the global distribution of many major trace substances in the troposphere and the stratosphere up to altitudes of 40-50km has been ascertained.

Scientists have discovered at an altitude of about 30km (20 miles) a layer with a higher concentration of ozone, which almost totally absorbs the lethal ultra-violet radiation in sunlight, thereby making life in its present form on Earth possible.

In this layer ozone (O_3) is formed by the photolysis of oxygen and the recombination of atomic and molecular oxygen, which is again destroyed by photolysis.

Stratospheric ozone thus undergoes a cycle governed exclusively by chemical and physical processes. It is completed fast at an altitude of 50km but takes place more slowly at lower altitudes due to the decline in intensity of solar radiation in the short-wave spectral range.

At an altitude of 30km, where the ozone layer has its greatest density, the ozone molecules that are constantly formed take several months to complete their cycle.

This ozone cycle in the stratosphere is increasingly upset by human activity, such as the release of spray can gas into the atmosphere.

This longlived gas is very slowly transported to higher altitudes, taking 10 to 20 years before it reaches the ozone layer.

Chlorine fluoride compounds disturb the ozone cycle by means of photolysis and by creating chlorine atoms. Although this complex interrelationship may not yet be entirely clear, estimates all indicate that the ozone count in the stratosphere and the protective effect of the ozone layer will slowly decline if several hundred thousand tons of spray-can gas continue to be pumped into the atmosphere every year.

A further man-made effect contributes toward the lower concentration of stratospheric ozone. N_2O is created by microorganisms in the soil and released into the atmosphere as a result of organic substances decomposing.

Once in the stratosphere it is converted into nitric oxides that interfere in the stratospheric ozone cycle.

N_2O is a gas that occurs naturally but the rate at which it is emitted by the soil has increased substantially in recent years as nitrogen-based mineral fertiliser has grown steadily more popular.

It is also created when fossil fuels are burnt.

A further problem is the growing quantity of methane (CH_4) in the atmosphere. It is closely associated with world population growth and linked with food output, for instance.

In 1700 the tropospheric methane count was 0.7 parts per million. It now stands at 1.7 parts per million.

At the moment the tropospheric methane count is increasing by roughly one per cent per annum.

Information about the atmospheric methane count in bygone centuries can now be gained by analysing air bubbles trapped in Arctic and Antarctic ice.

This increase in the tropospheric methane count has led, on average for the entire troposphere, to a mean increase in temperature of 0.2° C.

That may not seem much but the higher temperatures that may be expected *in future will differ widely in relation* to geographical latitude.

The temperature increase in higher latitudes in both the northern and southern hemispheres will be well above, those for the tropics well below average.

Even a minor increase in the methane count (in comparison with carbon dioxide) could lead to perceptible changes in climate — up to and including melting polar icecaps.

Methane is mainly created by biological processes during decomposition of organic substances in anaerobic conditions and then released into the atmosphere.

Between 70 and 100 million tons of methane a year are produced in beef offal and released into the atmosphere. Anaerobic sediment in the world's rice fields produces a further 70-170 million tons of methane a year.

Combustion of biomass accounts for 56-100 million tons of CH_4, industry for a further 75 million tons at most.

It is small wonder that the growth rate of methane concentration over the past 300 years largely tallies with that of population growth.

Nitric oxide (NO) shows what minor quantities can affect the chemistry of the atmosphere.

Nitric oxide plays a key role in the photochemistry of the troposphere, affecting the concentration and distribution of ozone in the troposphere.

Information so far available indicates that ozone is likely to be created in the atmosphere by means of oxydation of hydrocarbons once the nitric oxide count exceeds 10 parts per billion.

At lower concentrations the same chain of reaction causes a reduction in the ozone count.

Franz Frisch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 24 July 1986)

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problems and recommends a number of improvements, but Frau Wilms's reply to the parliamentary question indicates that no specific measures are planned.

Beefing up entry restrictions for would-be students hardly seems a suitable means of solving the problem.

What use is it for a student from Nigeria to be welcome in principle and seen by the Bonn government as a potential "multiplier and innovator in the social and economic process" when he is not going to be issued with a visa by the aliens' department?

Birgit Fleischmann

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 27 July 1986)

■ HORIZONS

Green light for blackout in red-light district

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The most lucrative red-light stretch in West Germany is 200 metres of side-road off a main highway north of Munich.

Here 250 prostitutes work four shifts round the clock from caravans.

The road is in a non-residential area with a troop training ground on one side and the society for radiation research and environmental protection on the other.

But the ladies are worried. Since Olympics year 1972 the streetwalkers have had troubles. They were then herded together and only tolerated by officialdom in nine Munich locations.

Now a Munich legal official, Peter Gauweiler, 37, wants to get rid of the caravan brothels.

Gauweiler, a CSU local government official, has called in the police.

But for the first time Munich prostitutes are putting up an tough fight for what they see as their rights. They have organised themselves.

Led by Monika, aged 30 and a prostitute for the past 12 years, and Christa, 57, a senior nursing sister in the Midnight Mission, organised by the Evangelical Church, the girls have gone on the offensive.

Monika has turned her sights on "cleaning-living" Peter Gauweiler.

She said: "I've been frantically trying to get in touch with him. He doesn't need to have anything to do with me as a person, but I do represent 160 women."

Christa confirmed this: "The women have the right to defend themselves. Their view, that is quite valid, deserves a hearing."

Christa takes care of the women along with a young social worker named Anita from the railway station's Midnight Mission, nick-named "Mimi."

They frequently visit the women in the caravans and elsewhere. They do not try to convert them, but they do offer help if a girl wants to get out of the prostitution business.

They don't speak of morality, but help in dealing with the authorities and visit petty offenders when they land up in prison.

They say they only want to do good when asked about their involvement with these women.

Recently there was a murder. On 11 July Kornelia was found in the undergrowth strangled. A client, until now unidentified, picked her up in a car. She did not have her own caravan.

An obituary was placed in the local newspaper: "It could have happened to us. We are not ashamed to turn to you, as a result of this cruel and meaningless murder, and point out our need for a dignified place where we can work."

It was signed by Monika and her colleagues.

Gauweiler argues that he is concerned for the safety of the women and their clients. This is increasingly endangered in the area where the caravans are.

The police have recorded 159 criminal acts in the area over the past three years, arson, acid attacks and bodily harm.

The girls, however, feel safer in their caravans than walking the streets, the *official alternative, Monika said.*

She boasts of the satisfactory living facilities she and her colleagues have in their caravans, until now tolerated by the Munich authorities.

In a hearing in which the authorities requested the girls to "disappear" or each of them would be fined DM2,000, the girls pointed out that most of them had perfectly satisfactory hygenic facilities in their caravans including shower, toilet and waste-disposal units.

Monika wrote to Peter Gauweiler: "We are street-walkers. We want to remain street-walkers and we shall." Seventy-two of her colleagues signed the letter.

Although they are convinced that no other form of street prostitution is controlled so much as the caravans they have asked the authorities to apply more safety precautions such as better lighting, prohibiting young people from the area and pimps and other prostitutes who have no right to be there.

The girls have founded a society to promote their interests. They have been able to link up with women in a Greens group, "although at first I thought that it was a feminist association," said one of the prostitutes.

They have also made contact with a political party colleague of Peter Gauweiler, Councillor Bletschacher.

They hope that he will help in their battle with officialdom, so that at least officials "have a better understanding and greater sympathy for our position."

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 29 July 1986)



Prostitute (right) talks with two advisers (Photo: Thomas Szabics)

Women make priest's life a misery

Three women made a Munich cleric's life a misery, a Munich court heard. They gave him a rough time with holy water and love letters.

Day after day they tyrannised the 65-year-old priest, until last January, at his wits' end, he rang the police and went to a temporal court.

The pious trio, who wanted the priest to say prayers to exorcise them from the devil and pursued him with amorous glances, were charged with disturbing the peace and hauled before a Munich court.

The priest told the court how he had been tormented, saying: "It is just terrible."

One of the women, named as Christine, 42, squirted holy water over him when he was conducting prayers on the Marienplatz, one of Munich's main squares. She also loudly shouted out exorcism prayers.

With a rosary in her hand and with an extremely pious mien Christine, a remedial educationalist by profession, said in court: "Christ was also taken to court by the priests."

Another of the women, a 65-year-old war widow, who had threatened to kill her beloved priest and his house-keeper, had taken to drink out of grief at the curate, so that she could not remember anything.

She could only remember one thing. She assured the judge: "I would rather kill myself than hurt a hair of his head."

The priest replied instantly: "Yes, you can love me, but leave me in peace."

The third, the widow's 43-year-old daughter, dressed very soberly, seemed to find her salvation in alcohol.

The judge used all his powers of persuasion on the three and the priest. He brought the proceedings to a close with the priest's blessing when he extracted from the three women the promise that they would leave him and his prayer meetings in peace.

But no sooner were the court proceedings over than the priest burst back into the courtroom.

Christine had squirted holy water over him as soon as he got outside.

dpa

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 15 July 1986)

Hitler Diaries forger Kujau out on parole

Konrad Kujau, the Hitler Diaries forger, is out of jail on parole. And he is back in his old haunts in Stuttgart.

His gallery is, ironically, just a few steps away from a police station and in the shadow of a church.

Kujau has been out for a year after serving 11 months of a 4½-year term in August last year for his part (the actual forging) in the Diaries affair which cost *Stern* magazine a lot of both money (9 million marks) and credibility (it shot holes through its circulation).

His forgeries can be seen by appointment — paintings in the style of famous artists and many examples of forged handwriting including Goethe, Marx, Napoleon and, of course, Hitler.

Kujau was released on parole from a Hamburg prison on 8 July last year. Since then he has been marketing his own fame. There have been almost 100 TV films made about him and he has given an untold number of interviews.

When he says that "this year I have made many TV films," he says it with a touch of boredom as if he were an experienced show-business star.

He is ready to welcome all journalists. No-one goes away disappointed. A true Swabian Kujau is a born raconteur, jovial, effervescent, humorous and with natural wit.

He is alert, cheeky and straightforward. He says with some pride: "I am one of the most severely punished forgers in the world."

That's probably right. He was sentenced by the Hamburg court to four and a half years imprisonment for fraud.

Although it was fairly hopeless his lawyers did appeal but the appeal was rejected and so he had to spend eleven months behind bars. The 26 months in remand prison were taken into account in the sentence.

Speaking of his time in prison he said that beneath his self-possession there was a lot of anger and bitterness.

He blusters: "You lot outside don't know what it's like. You are isolated. You are buried alive. You are delighted when you have a spider in the cell for company."

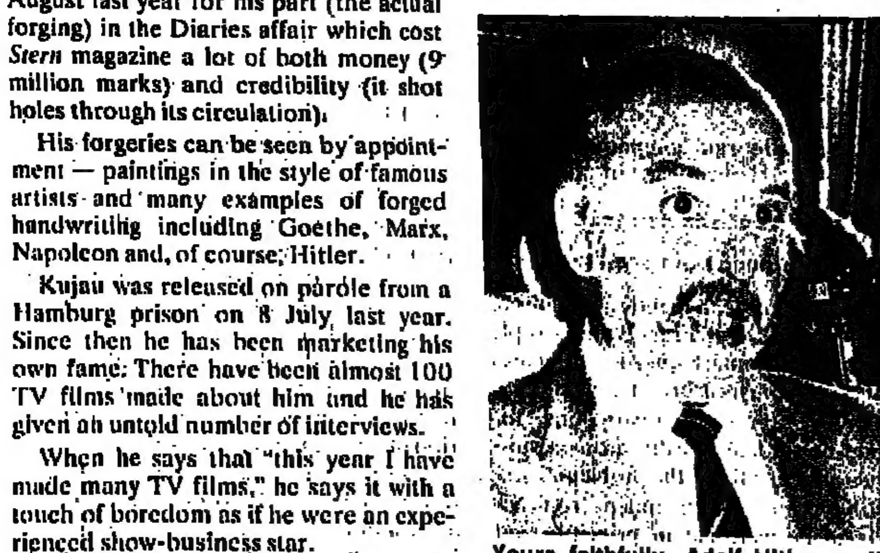
It is not surprising that he cut such a dash in the *Stern* court case and attracted so much attention to himself.

He was confident of his popularity and said: "Ninety-eight per cent of the population was on my side."

He regards himself to be the victim not the accused in the scandal. He said: "*Stern* only used me. They had more advertisers then even after the scandal. And who did I deceive? I cannot help it if one of the best investigators in that miserable magazine was a bit loose in the head."

He was referring to Gerd Heidemann, the onetime *Stern* star reporter, who first encouraged him to write the Hitler Diaries, offering him DM1.8m, then

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Yours faithfully, Adolf Hitler . . . Kujau. (Photo: dpa)

■ THE LAW

Report slams 12-hour police hemming-in ploy at rally

Süddeutsche Zeitung

A police operation in Hamburg in which about 400 demonstrators were tightly hemmed in a circle by baton-wielding officers for 12 hours is vividly described in a heavily critical report by a committee of the Hamburg *Land* assembly.

The report says that most of the demonstrators were not violent; that at times the cordon was so tight that they could not sit down; that they were denied use of the lavatories for hours, although they were only 30 yards away; and that they had to urinate on the ground accompanied by cynical and laughing police commentaries.

Eventually the demonstrators were removed one by one from the cordon and taken to 20 different police stations where the degradation continued. Women were forced to undress in order to be searched.

Sometimes four were kept in cells meant for one and told when asking to go to the lavatory: "Shit and piss in the cell. You can lick it up later."

It was 16 hours before the last of the demonstrators was released. For many of them it was a nightmare more like what happens in some banana republic rather than a western democracy.

Seldom can the limitations of a constitutional state in the face of such police excesses have been made so clear to such a wide audience.

The affair arose out of a demonstration in the Heiligengeistfeld in the St Pauli area of Hamburg, a large open area used several times a year for amusement fairs.

It was the Sunday of a weekend of huge demonstrations at the beginning of June against nuclear power plants at Brokdorf, near Hamburg, and Wackersdorf, in Bavaria.

The previous day, strong police units had prevented a party of demonstrators from Hamburg getting to Brokdorf. So the next day, the Sunday, the demonstrators turned out spontaneously in a sort of substitute rally to vent their frustrations. Demonstrations are not illegal.

In the words of the report: "On 8 June, 1986, between 800 and 1,000 people met at the Heiligengeistfeld full of frustration, disappointment and anger because the previous day, they had been unable to get to a demonstration at Brokdorf."

The demonstrators had barely gathered when, without warning, a large force of police with visors pulled down and armed with batons and riot shields emerged from semi-hiding and descended on all sides to encircle them. They were given no chance to disperse.

Senior police officers refused to attend any hearing connected with the committee inquiry on the grounds that several connected cases had still to be heard and that the matter was, therefore, *sub judice*.

Interior Senator Rolf Lange, the political head of the *Land* police force, gave a self-righteous interview to the weekly newspaper, *Die Zeit*. He survived a vote of no-confidence in the Hamburg assembly because his party, the Social Democrats have an absolute majority.

But SPD support for him is far from solid. Some public form of solidarity is being maintained because there is an election in Hamburg in November.

The report said that the police's mistake was not to recognise that most of the demonstrators were peaceful. Their action was in effect to take the encircled demonstrators as sort of hostages against violent demonstrators. The cordoned demonstrators were members of church groups, trade unionists and people with Social Democrat sympathies.

The cordon round them had barely closed when the police were attacked with stones — from outside the cordon, behind them. Barricades were burned, police cars destroyed and, as the violence spread from the immediate area, traffic lights and shop windows were smashed.

The report says the police made a tactical mistake. The act "was out of all proportion" to events and illegal.

"The sequence of events on 8 June only served to help the perpetrators of violence, promote a false solidarity with them and awake in many anger and doubt about the democratic constitutional state. That cannot be the aim of any police operation."

Senator Lange was asked if the police were "a bit short on awareness of their legal obligations."

"No," he said. "Our Hamburg police are strongly democratic and behave in accordance with the law. They are trained for three years and the training process continues (throughout their careers)."

There were no gaps in their democratic awareness. They were under "constant political leadership and control."

On the last point at least, the CDU Opposition in Hamburg disagrees. Hartmut Perschau, who is standing against Hamburg Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi in the November election, said Lange and senior police officers had not done any leading. But action is being taken against no one.

The Hamburg police have clearly made themselves so independent of their political masters that they were able to refuse to take part in the committee hearings.

The result, said Lange, was that they were able to snub both the Hamburg assembly and the public. Yet, at the same time, lower ranking policemen were having to give the explanations.

Eventually, Lange and von Dohnanyi apologised to the innocent demonstrators. It was a vote of confidence for the police.

The police said later they encircled the demonstrators to hold them "in custody". The report said it was "withdrawal of freedom." The police had justified their action by saying the participants were "overwhelmingly" from the ranks of violent groups known as the Autonomen. The report said two thirds of the participants were peaceful.

The legal grounds for action remain unclear. Laws governing police and right of assembly were put forward. But it is clear that participants were not given a chance to disperse.

The affair began at 12.21 on the Sunday afternoon and lasted until 13 minutes before one the next morning. It emerged in the inquiry that the Interior authority was told at about 1pm and Mayor von Dohnanyi about 2.30.

Apart from that, information from the police about political obligations becomes unclear. The report says that the legality of the encirclement should have been determined by a court no later than 3pm.

But it didn't happen. Eventually the trapped 400 were allowed to use the nearby lavatories, but only after painstaking body searches. They got nothing to eat and drink and had to watch as police filled paper cups with mineral water and poured it out again, witnesses told the hearing. The occasional demonstrator was beaten.

A welfare organisation was prevented from bringing in blankets at night. It was only after strong representations that anything at all was brought in.

Shortly before midnight, a convoy of taxis sounding their horns in solidarity drove past. Police hurried between the cars, breaking their windows and denting their bodywork.

In the evidence it even emerged that some policemen carried on with tears in their eyes. They were under tremendous pressure from their superiors.

After the encirclement ended, some of the demonstrators were taken to a police gymnasium where they were made to sit down in a square formed by wooden bench seats. They were not allowed to sit on the seats because that would "threaten public law and order".

The report described eye-witness descriptions as vivid and depressing. Vivid and depressing was also the widely published photograph showing a girl about eight years old with her hands raised against a police vehicle. She is surrounded by policemen and is being searched by one.

As soon as the operation ended, pressure on the police and the Hamburg state assembly grew. The CDU said the police action had gone too far. So did sections of the conservative press which some people might think would support such action.

The Senate (roughly, the Cabinet) had to say something. It gave a sort of wounded explanation in which it condemned the length of the operation but at the same time carefully defended the police.

Two Senators, Jan Ehlers (Social Affairs) and Jörg Kuhbier (Energy) wrote letters distancing themselves from Lange but were immediately hauled over the coals by von Dohnanyi.

There is lots of dissent within the SPD party in the assembly. Its leader there, Henning Voscherau, put some of the most probing questions at the hearing.

And party members have warned against allowing the actions of violent people at demonstrations to become an occasion to criminalise peaceful demonstrators as potential criminals. This would only undermine the basic right to demonstrate.

A total of 781 people were arrested in the operation, including the 400 in the cordon.

Volker Skierka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 25 July 1986)

Police encircling demonstrators in Hamburg . . . questions about political responsibility. (Photo: Argus)

Continued from page 14

selling them off to a third party in Hamburg. Kujau said: "I didn't care a damn what he did with the Diaries. If I had known that he would offer them to the world with loads of publicity I would never have written them." You can believe that or not as you like!

The question still to be answered is: what happened to the rest of the DM9m that the Hamburg magazine paid out for the 62 pages of Kujau's handiwork.

Kujau maintains that Heidemann has it in Hamburg. Heidemann says Kujau has it in Stuttgart.

Kujau did, in fact, receive DM1.5m. What did he do with it?

"I put it into real estate, just like any true Swabian would," he said. But this lucky devil claims nothing is left. He had to pay DM1,098,000 in lawyers' fees and almost as much to the tax office.

The real estate was sold and his famous collection of military memorabilia has been auctioned, scattered to the four winds.

He has had to try and sell himself. He has had film offers from America. He could play himself, Kujau as a kind of Kojak!

The "world's most famous forger" enjoys being in the public eye, and perhaps in the year 2000 people will still remember him. But what good is that to him today?

Do you have to believe him when he dryly says: "I'm having a tough time, to put it candidly."

Or are there a few *Stern* millions stashed away in a secret bank account somewhere? Shall we ever find out?

Peter Kümmel

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 July 1986)